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THE

PARADISE OF DANTE

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[La Divina Commedia]
[Vol. 3]

THE

PARADISE

OF

DANTE ALIGHIERI

EDITED WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES

BY

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London
MACMILLAN AND CO.
1885

CHARLES DICKENS AND EVANS,
CRYSTAL PALACE PRESS.

Hr 79
21/8/90
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PREFACE.

THE transition from the "Purgatory" to the "Paradise" will produce, it may be feared, on the minds of many readers the deterrent effect which Dante himself seems to have foreseen. Several of the reasons which, in the preface to the second Cantica, I urged as justifying the claims of that part of the Commedia to special attention, no longer apply. The mere fact that the doctrine of the Church respecting the future state would preclude Dante from introducing many of his own contemporaries as already glorified spirits,* is sufficient, in some measure, to account for a falling-off in the human interest of the poem. Most of the personages who are introduced are, as it were, the common property of all mankind. They do not owe their very identity to their place in the great poem as do Francesca, Farinata, the two Counts of Montefeltro, Forese, and a score

* Of his actual acquaintances, Carlo Martello and Piccarda are the only two who appear; Albert the Great, Aquinas, Bonaventura, and possibly Cunizza, the only others whose lifetime coincided at all with his. In placing Aquinas and Bonaventura among the saints he only anticipated the Church, but even in their cases he must have stretched a point, so to speak, in order to include them. Quinet's notion of "the old Ghibeline from the height of heaven letting fall his sentence of proscription on all the world" is as ludicrous as his statement that *no one* whom Dante had known appears in Paradise is incorrect.

of others whom we meet in its first two divisions. Then again it must be remembered, that while physical pain offers an endless choice of possibilities, the only pleasure which is admitted by the dignity of the Christian heaven is in its nature incapable of much variation. From the lowest sphere to the highest, it is in the contemplation of God, and the conforming of the will to His will, that the souls of the righteous find their perfect consummation and bliss. The bodily senses, which were all available as vehicles of torment, whether for punishment or for chastening, are now reduced to sight and hearing only. From the objects of these alone can images be drawn; and though Dante's genius is nowhere more conspicuous than in the way he has made use of the means at his disposal, till the reader himself seems almost to hear the changing melodies of Heaven and see around him its "primal, essential, all-pervading light," we must admit that even that genius is at times overweighted, and, in seeking to avoid monotony, is apt now and again to fall into what verges on the grotesque.

Let no one, however, suppose that the "Paradise" shows any failure in the author's powers. It rather affords a splendid testimony to the richness of their maturity. Where, for example, has he equalled that noble summary of Roman history put into the mouth of Justinian, in which the reader almost hears the rush of the eagle down his triumphant course? Where has he drawn any picture with clearer and yet with more delicate strokes than in Cacciaguida's description of the old Florentine life, before pride, envy, avarice, and the lusts of the flesh had marred its tranquil purity? Where, in Dante, or indeed in any other poet, shall we find dignity pathetic as in the lines—perhaps the most often quoted of the whole poem—in which his

exile is foretold? or stern as in St. Peter's invective, whereat all heaven grew red, against his unworthy successors? For pure beauty of devotion what shall we compare with St. Bernard's address to the Blessed Virgin? Nor are these and the like merely "purple patches," as some may deem, inserted in a dull tissue of metaphysics and theology. For the philosophical student, to be sure, those parts will possess the deepest interest, over which one who reads solely for literary enjoyment will be inclined to pass most quickly; though even he, if he does not leave them wholly unread, will appreciate the skill which has caused a spring of tender emotion to flow in a desert of metaphysics, and with a word here or an image there, drawn the music of Apollo's lute out of harsh and crabbed philosophy. But those who care for such things will know that, dry and futile as the disquisitions of the schoolmen may sometimes appear, and erroneous as we now, with our improved means of observation, can see that their conclusions often were, they represent a learning, an acuteness, and an industry combined in a measure of which the world has rarely seen the like. Between Aristotle and Bacon it would be hard to name any thinker who, for knowledge of all that was knowable in his day, and for force and clearness of reasoning upon the premises that he had, has left such a mark upon human thought as Aquinas had done, when he was cut off at the age of forty-nine. Doubtless he and the rest of the great band of philosophers whom the twelfth and thirteenth centuries brought forth, spent their time in efforts to solve the insoluble; but are we so very much nearer to success? Will Mr. Herbert Spencer's cast seem to the twenty-fifth century very far beyond the mark of St. Thomas? This is not the place to consider how that may be; and I only wish

here to justify myself for having been at some pains in my notes to consult the interests of those who care to trace the history of metaphysical speculation. It has seemed best to give Greek and Latin quotations in the original. Those for whom they are intended will probably prefer them in this form, while others would equally skip them if they were translated. It must, of course, be understood that both Dante and St. Thomas read their Aristotle only through the medium of a Latin rendering; but this appears to have been sufficiently accurate to make it quite possible for us to follow them in the original Greek.

The remarks made in the preface to the "Purgatory" in regard to the commentators from whom I have derived most assistance, will apply equally to the present instalment. I ought however to have spoken with more gratitude of Dr. Scartazzini, though I still think that his work would have been more useful if it were less copious. It is hardly necessary, except perhaps where one is going to differ from the best authorities, to review all the opinions of predecessors upon disputed passages, still less to record interpretations which are obviously erroneous. The only edition of importance that has been added to those which we then possessed is Professor Lubin's;* another comprehensive work, consisting of nearly one thousand closely printed pages. It contains elaborate studies and analyses of the poem, discussions on allegorical points, plans, and tables; also along with the text, an "Ordo," or rearrangement in a prose form. I cannot profess to have mastered it; but it is evident that it contains much that will be of service to students, more especially in regard to such matters as the symbolism of certain passages, or the connexion of the

* Padova: Stabilimento della Ditta L. Penada. 1881.

orders of the angelic hierarchy respectively with the various spheres of which the heaven is composed, and so with the influences which they exercise upon earthly affairs. He also gives synoptical tables of the three Cantiche, showing in a convenient form the general structure * of the poem.

Those who wish to study the "Paradise" with full comprehension, will find it expedient not only to consult such commentators as those to whom I have referred, but to make themselves familiar with the authorities on whom Dante chiefly relied. I have given in notes such extracts as seemed more directly to illustrate passages under consideration; but extracts alone are not enough. The student should read, either in the original or in Grote, Aristotle de Caelo, Books i. and ii.; Metaphysica λ. Ch. 6 to the end of the book; and Plato Timaeus, 27 E–42 D. I pretermit any reference to Aquinas, both because it is difficult to select any particular parts where the whole system is important, and because so far as selection is possible, the notes of Philalethes and Scartazzini will be found excellent guides. Of Dante's own works, Conv. ii. 2–6, 14, 15, iii. 5; De Mon. i. 11–13, ii. 2; and perhaps most of all, the Epistle to Can Grande, form a useful introduction.

We still await the edition of Benvenuto's Commentary, which has been promised from two quarters; but, as I said before, an unknown hand has copied a great deal of it in a MS. belonging to the University of Cambridge, and of this I have occasionally availed myself. He appears to have

* This will perhaps be the best point for drawing attention to the most notable instance of symmetry in the "Paradise." The three great invectives against the Popes will be found to occur in the 9th, 18th, and 27th Cantos.

been the most intelligent of the early commentators. Pietro di Dante, as edited by Lord Vernon, is now and then helpful; but, on the whole, one regrets that he did not see more of his father in more senses than one. I must express my thanks to Dr. Moore for information as to MS. readings, and my hope that his labours in this line may soon bear fruit for Dante students at large. To thank Mr. Henry Jackson for help is becoming a "common form" among Cambridge men in all works where references to Greek philosophy have to be made. In the present case his assistance in tracing various passages to their Aristotelian source has been of great service to me.

In editing the text, I have had constantly before me the Codex Cassinensis, the MS. I call "Gg.," Lord Vernon's reprint of the four first editions, the two Aldines, and Witte's large edition. I do not think that there is any variant of importance which is not to be found in one or other of these. The various readings given at the foot of the pages are of course only a selection; though I have, as a rule, recorded any which materially affect the sense, or are in some way typical. It must not therefore be assumed that where no variant is specified, the authorities all agree; indeed, it may be taken for granted that wherever, for example, *chiaro* occurs, somebody reads *caro*, and vice versâ; so with *affetto* and *effetto*. Wherever it is a question of the omission or insertion of the letter *n*, MSS. are practically indeterminate, this letter being usually denoted only by a line over the preceding vowel. To say more on this point would be trespassing on Dr. Moore's province; but I should like here to express my belief that in many cases the difference of reading is due to the author himself, and that as the work proceeded, he distributed copies among his friends,

admitting modifications here and there as they suggested themselves to him. If this be so, it is clear not only that all search for an "archetype" will be fruitless, but that even if we found an undoubted copy in Dante's own hand, it would not necessarily embody the readings on which he finally decided.

A few words may perhaps be added in reference to certain forms peculiar to the last part of the Commedia. First among them comes that remarkable series of reflexive verbs compounded with *in*, which are usually quite untranslatable except by a periphrasis. Of these I have counted twenty-six which occur only in this Cantica. That *chiarezza*, *chiarità*, *chiarire*, should be found here and not elsewhere, is perhaps due to the special need of terms implying brightness; but this is not enough to account for *parvente* and *parvenza*, which occur pretty frequently, though entirely absent from the former parts of the poem, nor for a large proportion of the words given in the Glossary. I am strongly inclined to suspect that an investigation of these forms might give a clue to Dante's most frequent place of residence during the time that he was engaged upon the concluding portion of his work.

November 1, 1885.

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PRELIMINARY NOTE.

To understand Dante's conception of Paradise, we must imagine the universe as consisting of nine spheres concentric with the earth, which is fixed at the centre, and surrounded by the spheres of air and fire. The sphere of fire is immediately in contact with that of the Moon, beyond which come in order those of Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and the fixed stars. The last of all is the sphere of the First Movement, or Primum Mobile, which governs the general motion of the heavens from east to west, and by which all place and time is ultimately measured. Each of these is under the direction of one of the angelic orders,* and exercises its special influence on earthly affairs. The three lowest spheres are allotted to the souls of those whose life on earth was marred by yielding to the temptations of the world; the next four to those whose actions were wholly directed by virtuous motives. The last two have no special tenants assigned to them, but appear to serve as common places of meeting, the one to saints, the other to angels. Finally, outside of all, comes the Empyrean heaven, where is neither time nor place, but light only; the special abode of Deity and resting-place of the saints.

The time occupied in the journey through the different heavens is twenty-four hours.

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* The medieval doctrine on this subject appears to have been largely drawn from Jewish Cabalistic philosophy. See Ueberweg, Hist. of Phil. vol. i. §97, especially as to the book called Zohar, composed in the thirteenth century.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

P. 32, l. 1—for "which below appears so great" read "which seems so far down."

P. 56, l. 6—after "shoulder" insert "of his own will."

P. 89, note to canto vii. 109—for "Cf. i. 69" read "Cf. l. 69."

P. 115, note to canto ix. 54, last line—for "thirteenth" read "fourteenth."

P. 156, note to canto xii. 50—add: "**foga** may mean only 'course,' but I am inclined to think that the idea of heat comes in. See Gloss. Purg. s. v."

P. 164, note to canto xii. 134—add: "The number twelve appears to be made up by reckoning the six books of which the seventh is composed, as separate treatises."

P. 168, note to canto xiii. 10—add: "It is called in Spanish *bocina*, 'the horn.'"

P. 172, note to canto xiii. 61—add: "Cf. S. T. i. Q. 54. A. 3: Accidens vero quod est individui non consequens totam speciem, consequitur materiam, quae est individuationis principium."

P. 228, canto xvii. 52—add note: "**offensa**: see note to Purg. xxxi. 12. The meaning here seems to be 'stumbled.'"

P. 250, l. 5—for "any" read "another"; and for note to canto xix. 28, substitute: "The allusion seems to be to the fact that another sphere, viz. that of Saturn, which was moved by the order of 'Thrones,' was more specially connected with God's justice. See ix. 61."

P. 303, l. 12—for "divine" read "bright."

P. 398, canto xxxi. 41—add note: "**tra esso e il gaudio.** For this curious use of *tra-e*, cf. Purg. vii. 70, xxiv. 13. It is found even with a second preposition, as 'tra con parole e con atti,' 'tra per l' una cosa e per l' altra.'—Corticelli."

PARADISO.

CANTO I.

ARGUMENT.

Dante, following the direction of Beatrice's eyes, gazes fixedly at the sun, and presently finds that he is rising on high. He is astonished thereat, and Beatrice expounds to him the cause of it.

THE glory of Him who moves all things penetrates through the universe, and shines forth in one quarter more, and less in another. In the heaven which receives most of His light was I, and I beheld things which whoso descends thence has neither knowledge nor power to tell again, seeing

LA gloria di Colui che tutto muove,
Per l' universo penetra, e risplende
In una parte più, e meno altrove.
Nel ciel che più della sua luce prende
Fu' io, e vidi cose che ridire
Nè sa nè può qual di lassù discende;

[1] **che tutto muove.** S. T. ii. 2. Q. 104. A. 4: Deus est primus motor omnium qui naturaliter moventur. It will be seen throughout that God is identified with the κινοῦν οὐ κινούμενον of Aristotle, Metaph. λ. 7. See note to l. 76, post.

[5, 6] Cf. 2 Cor. xii. 4.

that as it draws near to its desire our understanding plunges so deep, that back the memory cannot go. Howbeit, so much of the holy realm as I could treasure up within my mind shall now be matter for my lay.

O good Apollo, at my latest labour make me a vessel of thy power so fashioned as thou requirest for the gift of the beloved laurel. Up to this point the one peak of Parnassus has sufficed me, but now with both it is meet that I enter on the remaining lists. Enter thou into my breast and

Perchè appressando sè al suo disire,
  Nostro intelletto si profonda tanto,
  Che retro la memoria non può ire.
Veramente quant' io del regno santo 10
  Nella mia mente potei far tesoro,
  Sarà ora materia del mio canto.
O buono Apollo, all' ultimo lavoro
  Fammi del tuo valor sì fatto vaso,
  Come dimandi a dar l' amato alloro.
Insino a qui l' un giogo di Parnaso
  Assai mi fu, ma or con ambedue
  M' è uopo entrar nell' aringo rimaso.
Entra nel petto mio, e spira tue,

7 **al suo disire**: that is to God, *τὸ ὀρεκτόν, κινοῦν ὡς ἐρώμενον.* S. T. i. Q. 44. A. 3: Omnia appetunt Deum ut finem. Cf. Conv. iii. 2.

16-18 There is some difficulty as to the two peaks of Parnassus. The mountain was "Bromio Phoeboque sacer," but it is plain that Dante is referring to his invocations of the Muses, Inf. ii. 7 and Pg. i. 8, and an allusion to Bacchus, though some commentators have been satisfied with it, would be out of place here. Probably, like Landino after him, he confused the "biceps Parnassus" with Helicon and Cithaeron. **Giogo,** as Philalethes notes, probably suggested the other sense of the Lat. *jugum*, and so the metaphor of the race-course.

inspire, in such wise as when thou drewest forth Marsyas from the sheath of his limbs. O power divine, if thou impart thyself to me, until I make manifest the image of the blessed realm which is stamped within my head, thou wilt see me come to the tree beloved by thee, and crown myself then with those leaves whereof my matter and thou will make me worthy. So seldom, Father, is aught plucked thereof for the triumphing of either Caesar or poet (a fault

Sì come quando Marsia traesti 20
Della vagina delle membra sue.
O divina virtù, se mi ti presti
Tanto che l' ombra del beato regno
Segnata nel mio capo io manifesti,[a]
Venir vedra' mi al tuo diletto legno,[b]
E coronarmi allor di quelle foglie,[c]
Che la materia e tu mi farai degno.
Sì rade volte, Padre, se ne coglie,
Per trionfare o Cesare o poeta

[a] *capo m. Gg. Ald.* [b] *Vedrami al pie del t. d. l. Gg.*
[c] *Venir, e coronarmi delle f. Gg.*

[20] The reason for the introduction of Marsyas is not clear; but it may be meant as an indirect warning to those who would sing without inspiration. Cf. the allusion to the Picae in Purg. i. 11. The story of Marsyas is told in Ov. Met. vi. 381 sqq. and Fasti vi. 703 sqq.

[24] Some omit **io**, regarding **manifesti** as the second person, which gives perhaps even a better sense: "grant thyself to me until thou bring to light what is now shadowed in my brain."

[27] **Che** is a kind of general relative, standing for "who," "whose," "where," "when," etc., as the sense requires. See note to Purg. i. 3, and Diez iii. 348; also Corticelli, s. v. French *que* is used even more freely in a similar way. Diez considers that in this use both represent the Lat. *quam.*

and a reproach of the wills of men) that the leaf of Peneus ought to bring forth joy upon the joyous godhead of Delphi whenever any is athirst for it. A mighty flame follows a little spark; haply after me will men pray with better words, for Cirrha to make answer.

Through divers passages arises to mortals the lamp of the world; but from that one which joins four circles with three crosses, it issues with a better course and in conjunc-

(Colpa e vergogna dell' umane voglie), 30
Che partorir letizia in su la lieta
Delfica Deità dovria la fronda
Peneia, quando alcun di sè asseta.[d]
Poca favilla gran fiamma seconda:
Forse diretro a me con miglior voci[e]
Si pregherà, perchè Cirra risponda.
Surge a' mortali per diverse foci
La lucerna del mondo; ma da quella,
Che quattro cerchi giugne con tre croci,

[d] *altrui Gg.*
[e] *Dietro da se forse Cass.* 14; *da me* 23. *Forse retro d. m. W.*

36 Cirrha, on the coast a few miles distant from Delphi, seems to have been by the Latin poets confused with Crissa, the town more immediately connected with the oracle. Pliny (iv. 4), however, distinguishes them. See on the whole subject, Grote, Hist. Gr. Part II. ch. xxviii. Here, of course, **Cirra** is practically synonymous with Delphi.

37 "Dividitur ista pars, seu tertia cantica, quae *Paradisus* dicitur, principaliter in duas partes, scilicet in *prologum* et *partem executivam*. Pars secunda incipit ibi: *Surgit mortalibus per diversas fauces.*" Epistle to Can Grande.

38, 39 The equator, the ecliptic, and the equinoctial colure, or great circle through the pole of the equator and the equinoxes, intersect on the first point of Aries. At sunrise about the spring equinox this

tion with a better constellation, and more to its own fashion moulds and seals the wax of the world.

The morning on that side and the evening on this had made that passage nearly, and there all that hemisphere was white, and the other part dark, when I saw Beatrice turned round upon the left flank, and gazing at the Sun: never did eagle so fix himself on it. And as a second ray is wont to issue from the first and mount upwards again,

Con miglior corso e con migliore stella 40
Esce congiunta, e la mondana cera
Più a suo modo tempera e suggella.
Fatto avea di là mane e di qua sera
Tal foce quasi, e tutto era là bianco[f]
Quello emisperio, e l' altra parte nera,
Quando Beatrice in sul sinistro fianco
Vidi rivolta, e riguardar nel sole:
Aquila sì non gli s' affisse unquanco.
E sì come secondo raggio suole
Uscir del primo e risalire insuso, 50

[f] *Tal foce e quasi Gg. Bi.*

point is therefore on the horizon, which makes the fourth circle: the three crosses being made by the others with it. Aristotle (De Gen. et Corr. ii. 9) holds that the cause of creation and dissolution is the sun's movement in the ecliptic: *οὐχ ἡ πρώτη φορὰ αἰτία ἐστὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς, ἀλλ' ἡ κατὰ τὸν λοξὸν κύκλον . . . ὁρῶμεν γὰρ ὅτι προσιόντος μὲν τοῦ ἡλίου γένεσίς ἐστιν· ἀπιόντος δὲ φθίσις.* So Met. λ. 5, 6.

43-45 The time, as we know from Purg. xxxiii. 104, was just mid-day (not, as Philalethes takes it, "the moment of sunrise"), and accordingly the hemisphere in which Dante was, was all illuminated. **mane** must be understood as the space from sunrise to noon. For **fatto**, cf. Purg. ix. 8. On this side of the earth the "evening," i.e., the time from sunset to midnight, had "made" the like "passage" on the other side.

even like a pilgrim who wills to return; so of her action, poured through the eyes into my imagination, did mine frame itself, and I fixed my eyes on the Sun beyond our wont.

Much is lawful there which here is not lawful to our power, thanks to the place made for a property of the human kind. I endured it not much, but not so little that I did not see it sparkle all about, like iron which comes forth seething from the fire. And of a sudden day seemed to be added to day, as though He that has the power had adorned the heaven with a second sun. Beatrice was

Pur come peregrin che tornar vuole,
Così dell' atto suo, per gli occhi infuso
Nell' immagine mia, il mio si fece,
E fissi gli occhi al sole oltre a nostr' uso.[g]
Molto è licito là, che qui non lece
Alle nostre virtù, mercè del loco
Fatto per proprio dell' umana spece.
Io nol soffersi molto, nè sì poco
Ch' io nol vedessi sfavillar dintorno,
Qual ferro che bollente esce del fuoco. 60
E di subito parve giorno a giorno
Essere aggiunto, come Quei che puote
Avesse il ciel d' un altro sole adorno.

[g] *volsi il viso al s. Gg.*

quasi, because the time was a few days after the equinox, and therefore the sun's path did not pass exactly through the point named. It seems better to take it thus than to read with Bianchi, "e quasi tutto."

[57] Cf. Pg. xxviii. 92, 3. So Aquinas, S. T. i. Q. 104. 2: Paradisus est locus conveniens humanae habitationi secundum primum primae immortalitatis statum.

[61] Cf. Isaiah xxx. 26.

standing all fixed with her eyes upon the eternal wheels; and I, my eyes fixed on her, removed from on high, in her aspect became such inwardly as Glaucus became in the tasting of the herb, which made him a consort in the sea with the other Gods. To signify in words transhumanation were impossible: wherefore let the example suffice him to whom grace is reserving an experience. If I was only that part of me which thou last createdst, O Love who orderest

Beatrice tutta nell' eterne ruote
  Fissa con gli occhi stava; ed io in lei
  Le luci fisse, di lassù remote,
Nel suo aspetto tal dentro mi fei,
  Qual si fe Glauco nel gustar dell' erba,
  Che il fe consorto in mar degli altri Dei.
Trasumanar significar per verba 70
  Non si porìa: però l' esempio basti
  A cui esperienza grazia serba.
S' io era sol di me quel che creasti
  Novellamente, Amor, che il ciel governi,
  Tu il sai, che col tuo lume mi levasti.

[68] Glaucus tells his own story in Ov. Met. xiii. 918 sqq. The lines to which reference is here made are 944–7:

"Vix bene combiberant ignotos guttura sucos
Quum subito trepidare intus praecordia sensi,
Alteriusque rapi naturae pectus amore.
Nec potui restare loco."

And 956–9:

"Hactenus acta tibi possum memoranda referre;
Hactenus et memini; nec mens mea cetera sensit.
Quae postquam rediit alium me corpore toto,
Ac fueram nuper, nec eundem mente, recepi."

[73] I.e. "I was in my body": that being the part of man which is last to be created. Cf. 2 Cor. xii. 2, 3.

the heaven, thou knowest, for with thy light thou liftedst me. When the revolution that thou makest everlasting through desire, brought itself to my attention, with the harmony which thou temperest and distributest, so much of the heaven then appeared to me kindled by the flame of the sun, that rain nor river ever made so wide-spread a

Quando la rota, che tu sempiterni
  Desiderato, a sè mi fece atteso
  Con l' armonia che temperi e discerni,[h]
Parvemi tanto allor del cielo acceso
  Dalla fiamma del Sol, che pioggia o fiume 80
  Lago non fece mai tanto disteso.[i]

[h] *Con la rota* 145; *isterni Ald.*(1) *Land. Dan.*
[i] *L. non fece alcun Gg.* 134; *loco . . . alcun Cass.*

76, 77 Literally, "which thou, being desired, makest everlasting." We are reminded of the language of the Platonic Timaeus: *θείαν ἀρχὴν ἤρξατο ἀπαύστου καὶ ἔμφρονος βίου πρὸς τὸν ξύμπαντα χρόνον* (chap. 36); but the germ of the doctrine that the movement of the heavens proceeds from the desire which all created things have for God is rather to be sought in Ar. Met. λ. 7 (1072 a): *ἐστί τι ὃ οὐ κινούμενον κινεῖ, ἀίδιον καὶ οὐσία καὶ ἐνέργεια οὖσα. Κινεῖ δὲ ὧδε· τὸ ὀρεκτὸν καὶ τὸ νοητὸν κινεῖ οὐ κινούμενον.* Cf. also de An. iii. 10. In de Caelo ii. 2, the various movements of the heavens are explained as depending on their nearness to the divine origin. Aquinas (S. T. i. Q. 105. A. 2) translates Aristotle: "Deus movet sicut desideratum et intellectum." See also Q. 70. So again Conv. ii. 4: per lo ferventissimo appetito che ha ciascuna sua parte d' esser congiunta con ciascuna parte di quello divinissimo cielo quieto in quello si rivolve [sc. il primo mobile] con tanto desiderio che la sua velocità e quasi incomprensibile.

78 **armonia.** It is curious that Dante should have adopted, as he appears here to do, the Pythagorean and Platonic doctrine of a harmony caused by the revolution of the heavenly bodies. Aristotle (de Caelo ii. 9) discusses it, and decides against it. Aquinas, on Job xxxviii. 37 ("concentum caeli quis dormire faciet"), follows Aristotle, and holds

pool. The strangeness of the sound and the great light kindled in me a desire for their cause never before felt with such keenness. Wherefore she who saw me as I see myself, to set at rest my disturbed mind, before I could do it to ask, opened her mouth, and began: "Thou thyself makest thyself gross with false imagining, so that thou seest not that which thou wouldest have seen, if thou hadst shaken it off. Thou art not on the earth as thou deemest: but a thunderbolt flying from its proper abode never sped as thou dost who art returning to the same." If I was stripped of the first doubt by the few short words which were smiled

La novità del suono e il grande lume
  Di lor cagion m' accesero un disio
  Mai non sentito di cotanto acume.
Ond' ella, che vedea me sì com' io,
  A quietarmi l' animo commosso,[k]
  Pria ch' io a dimandar, la bocca aprìo:
E cominciò: Tu stesso ti fai grosso
  Col falso immaginar, sì che non vedi
  Ciò che vedresti, se l' avessi scosso. 90
Tu non se' in terra sì come tu credi;
  Ma folgore, fuggendo il proprio sito,
  Non corse come tu ch' ad esso riedi.[1]
S' io fui del primo dubbio disvestito
  Per le sorrise parolette brevi,

[k] *acquetarmi Cass.* [1] *corria Gg.*

that the "concentus" must be taken metaphorically "pro sola convenientia caelestium motuum qui nunquam dormiunt."

[92] **il proprio sito**, i.e., the sphere of fire, in which it is generated and to which it belongs.

[93] **corse**, in aorist sense. See note to Purg. xxxii. 34.

on me, inwardly I was more enmeshed in a new; and I said: "Already I have rested content from a great wondering; but now I wonder how I may rise past these light bodies." Wherefore she, after a kindly sigh, directed her eyes toward me with that countenance which a mother makes over a son whose reason wanders, and began: "All things whatsoever have an order among themselves; and this is form, which makes the universe in the likeness of God. Here the created beings on high see the traces of the eternal goodness, which is the end whereunto the rule aforesaid has been made. In that order which I say have

Dentro ad un nuovo più fui irretito:
E dissi: Già contento requievi
Di grande ammirazion: ma ora ammiro
Com' io trascenda questi corpi lievi.
Ond' ella, appresso d' un pio sospiro, 100
Gli occhi drizzò ver me con quel sembiante,
Che madre fa sopra figliuol deliro:
E cominciò: le cose tutte quante
Hann' ordine tra loro; e questo è forma,[m]
Che l' universo a Dio fa simigliante.
Qui veggion l' alte creature l' orma
Dell' eterno valore, il quale è fine,
Al quale è fatta la toccata norma.
Nell' ordine ch' io dico sono accline

[m] *questo informa* 5.

97 Bianchi notes the Lat. form *requievi*, and compares the *audivi* of Inf. xxvi. 78.

99 **corpi lievi,** i.e. air and fire, through the spheres of which he is now passing.

103-111 See note at the end of this Canto.

106 **l' alte creature.** Cf. Pg. xi. 3, "i primi effetti di lassù."

all natures their propension, through divers lots, [as they are] more or less near to their origin: whereby they move to divers ports through the great sea of being, and each with instinct given to it to bear it. This bears away fire towards the moon; this is the motive power in the hearts of men; this binds the earth together and makes it one. Nor only the creatures which are outside of understanding does this bow shoot forth, but those that have intellect and love. The Providence that settles so much, gives ever that

Tutte nature per diverse sorti, 110
Più al principio loro e men vicine;
Onde si muovono a diversi porti
Per lo gran mar dell' essere, e ciascuna
Con istinto a lei dato che la porti.
Questi ne porta il fuoco inver la Luna;
Questi nei cuor mortali è permotore;
Questi la terra in sè stringe ed aduna.
Nè pur le creature, che son fuore
D' intelligenzia, quest' arco saetta,
Ma quelle ch' hanno intelletto ed amore. 120
La provvidenza, che cotanto assetta,
Del suo lume fa il ciel sempre quieto,

115 Cf. Pg. xviii. 28.

118-20 Cf. S. T. i. Q. 2. A. 3: Ea quae non habent cognitionem non tendunt in finem, nisi directa ab aliquo cognoscente et intelligente, sicut sagitta a sagittante; ergo est aliquid intelligens, a quo omnes res ordinantur ad finem: et hoc dicimus Deum.

121, 122 I.e. the Empyrean, or fixed heaven, "luogo di quella somma Deità che se sola compiutamente vede," and therefore at rest; while that next within it, or "primo mobile," "per lo ferventissimo appetito che ha ciascuna sua parte d' essere congiunta con ciascuna parte di quello decimo Cielo divinissimo e quieto, in quello si rivolve con tanto desiderio, che la sua velocità è quasi incomprensibile," Conv. ii. 4. See also note to l. 76.

heaven rest in His light, within the which turns that one which has greatest speed. And now thither, as to a site appointed, the virtue of that string is bearing us away, which directs to a happy mark whatsoever it shoots forth. True is it that as form many times accords not with the intention of the art, because the matter is deaf to respond, so from this course the creature departs at whiles; for it has the power, when thus urged, to swerve in another

Nel qual si volge quel ch' ha maggior fretta.
Ed ora lì, com' a sito decreto,
Cen porta la virtù di quella corda,
Che ciò che scocca drizza in segno lieto.
Vero è che come forma non s' accorda
Molte fiate alla intenzion dell' arte,
Perch' a risponder la materia è sorda;
Così da questo corso si diparte 130
Talor la creatura, ch' ha podere
Di piegar, così pinta, in altra parte,
(E sì come veder si può cadere

[125, 126] Aquinas uses the simile again, S. T. i. Q. 23. Art. 1: Ad illud ad quod non potest aliquid virtute suae naturae pervenire, oportet quod ab alio transmittatur; sicut sagitta a sagittante mittitur ad signum: unde, proprie loquendo, rationalis creatura, quae est capax vitae aeternae, perducitur in ipsam, quasi a Deo transmissa; and again, S. T. ii. 1. Q. 4. A. 5: Voluntas tendit in finalem actum intellectus, qui est beatitudo; et ideo recta inclinatio voluntatis praeexigitur ad beatitudinem: sicut rectus motus sagittae ad percussionem signi.

[127] Cf. De Mon. ii. 2: Perfecto existente artifice, atque optime organo se habente, si contingat peccatum in forma artis, materiae tantum imputandum est; and S. T. ii. 1. Q. 4. Art. 4: Finis comparatur ad id quod ordinatur ad finem, sicut forma ad materiam, etc.

[133] I.e. as fire, under certain conditions, may behave in a way contrary to its nature, so may the natural impulses of the soul. Cf. Purg. xviii. 28–33.

direction (even as fire may be seen to fall from a cloud), if the first impulse brings it to earth, being turned aside by a false pleasure. Thou oughtest no more to wonder, if I rightly judge, at thy ascent, otherwise than at a river if it falls from a high mountain down to the bottom. It would be a marvel in thee, if being rid of impediment thou hadst sate below, as would be living fire quiet on the ground."

Herewith she turned again towards the heaven her gaze.

Fuoco di nube), se l' impeto primo
L' atterra torto da falso piacere.[n]
Non dèi più ammirar, se bene stimo,
Lo tuo salir, se non come d' un rivo,[o]
Se d' alto monte scende giuso ad imo.
Maraviglia sarebbe in te, se privo
D' impedimento giù ti fossi assiso, 140
Com' a terra quieto fuoco vivo.[p]
Quinci rivolse inver lo cielo il viso.

[n] *Laterra torta del f. p. Gg.; dal* 5; *da* 124; *laterra a torto da Cass.; A terra è torto Ald. Land.*

[o] *salire, non Gg.; per lotuo salir se non Cass.*

[p] *aterra quieta il f. v. Gg.; a terra quiete in Cass.; in terra quiete in* 3 *W.; commatera quiete in* 145; *come matera quieta in* 2.

[137] **se non come,** lit. "if not as," sc. thou wouldst wonder at. So iii. 44, where the use is still more curious.

NOTE TO LINES 103 SQQ.

This passage, though it is introduced merely as an explanation of the process by which Dante is enabled to rise through a medium lighter than his body, contains in a few lines so perfect a specimen of the method by which the Aristotelian philosophy was fitted to Christian

doctrine as to deserve comment and illustration. The general drift of it is as follows: The Final Cause (*τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα*) of created things is eternal happiness, which consists in the sight of God. (S. T. i. Q. 23. Art. 1: Finis ad quem res creatae ordinantur a Deo est duplex; unus . . . est vita aeterna, quae in divina visione consistit. With line 106 we may compare the famous passage in Plato, Phaedrus, 247 c: *καθορᾷ μὲν αὐτὴν δικαιοσύνην, καθορᾷ δὲ σωφροσύνην, κ.τ.λ.*) But to this end it is necessary that the creature should become like God. (S. T. i. Q. 86. Art. 1: Requiritur ad cognoscendum ut similitudo rei cognitae sit in cognoscente quasi quaedam forma ipsius. So Ar. Met. *β*. 4 (1000 b): *Ἡ γνῶσις τοῦ ὁμοίου τῷ ὁμοίῳ.* And cf. 1 St. John iii. 2.)

Now God being one—*ἓν καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἀριθμῷ τὸ πρῶτον κινοῦν ἀκίνητον ὄν*, Met. λ. 8 (1074 a)—likeness to Him can only be obtained in unity which "pertains to the essence of goodness; as Boethius proves by the fact that as all things desire the good, so they desire unity, without which they cannot exist, for everything exists in so far as it is one." (S. T. i. Q. 103. Art. 3. and cf. Boeth. Cons. Phil. iii. Prosa 11. So again De Mon. i. 17: "In omni genere rerum illud est optimum, quod est maxime unum, ut Philosopho placet, in iis quae de simpliciter ente.") But this unity, and therefore likeness with God, is found in the order of creation. (Met. λ. 10. *πάντα δε συντέτακταί πως, ἀλλ' οὐκ ὁμοίως* —**per diverse sorti**—*καὶ πλωτὰ καὶ πτηνὰ καὶ φυτά. Καὶ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει ὥστε μὴ εἶναι θατέρῳ πρὸς θάτερον μηδὲν, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ πρός τι. Προς μὲν γὰρ ἓν ἅπαντα συντέτακται.* S. T. i. Q. 47. Art. 3: Ipse ordo in rebus a Deo creatis existens unitatem mundi manifestat. Mundus enim iste unus dicitur unitate ordinis, secundum quod quaedam ad alia ordinantur. Quaecunque autem sunt a Deo, ordinem habent ad invicem et ad ipsum Deum.) This order, then, is the Formal Cause, or quiddity (*ὁ λόγος τῆς οὐσίας, τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι*) of creation; and it is by virtue of this that all things animate and inanimate have their natural propension, acting more or less strongly according as they are nearer to or further from their Efficient Cause or *ἀρχή τῆς κινήσεως*; "*τοιαύτη γὰρ ἑκάστου ἀρχὴ αὐτῶν ἡ φύσις ἐστί.*" (Met. l.c.)

But God, as we have seen, is the *ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως* both for the universe and for the souls of men; therefore the same power which makes the heavens move faster as they are nearer to the Empyrean, makes the soul in whom will is rightly directed fly to God with more speed as it draws nearer to Him. S. T. ii. 1. Q. 4. A. 4, quoted above, note to l. 125.

CANTO II.

ARGUMENT.

They ascend to the first Heaven, of the Moon, and Beatrice corrects an error in which Dante lay respecting the cause of the marks on its face.

O YE who are in a little bark, desirous to listen, having followed behind my skiff which goes singing, return to behold again your own shores, put not forth to sea: for haply, losing me, ye would be left astray. Over the

O VOI, che siete in piccioletta barca,
Desiderosi d' ascoltar, seguiti
Dietro al mio legno che cantando varca,
Tornate a riveder i vostri liti;
Non vi mettete in pelago, chè forse
Perdendo me rimarreste smarriti.

1 sqq. For the metaphor compare the opening lines of the Purgatory. Whether the caution contained in this passage has reference to any special persons it is impossible now to say; but it would seem not improbable that Dante may have begun to find imitators. In the next generation we have Fazio degli Uberti, whose "Dittamondo" is undoubtedly modelled on the D.C. The resemblance of the warning to careless hearers and the invitation to those who have qualified themselves by due study to be his disciples with the end of the 4th and beginning of the 5th chapters of the 1st book of the Ethics, to which Dante himself refers in Conv. iv. 15, can hardly be unintentional. In

water which I take none ever sped; Minerva sends the breeze, and Apollo is my pilot, and nine Muses point me out the Bears. Ye other few who have stretched forth your necks betimes to the angels' bread, whereof one lives here, but comes not away sated, may well set your vessel through the deep sea, keeping my wake in front of the water which comes back smooth again. Those glorious ones who passed

L' acqua ch' io prendo giammai non si corse:
  Minerva spira, e conducemi Apollo,
  E nove Muse mi dimostran l' Orse.[a]
Voi altri pochi, che drizzaste il collo 10
  Per tempo al pan degli Angeli, del quale
  Vivesi qui, ma non sen vien satollo:
Metter potete ben per l' alto sale
  Vostro navigio, servando mio solco
  Dinanzi all' acqua che ritorna eguale.
Que' gloriosi che passaro a Colco,

[a] *nuove Cass.* 3.

Conv. i. 1 he takes a somewhat different view. "Oh beati," he exclaims, "que' pochi che seggono a quella mensa ove il pane degli Angeli si mangia, e miseri quelli che hanno colle pecore comune cibo!" But he goes on to say that in common humanity the former should impart of their plenty to the latter.

7 Portirelli compares Lucr. iv. 1, "Avia Pieridum peragro loca, nullius ante trita solo:" but the idea is a commonplace with poets. **Corse.** So Purg. i. 1.

9 The question as to *nove* or *nuove* does not seem to have occurred to any one before Daniello: but since his time commentators have been divided. MSS. are of little help, the two words being so easily miswritten for each other, and *nuove* being possible to spell with or without the *u*. As far as argument goes, it may be said that *nove* is somewhat frigid; but on the other hand no one has explained why new Muses should be required, but not a new Minerva or Apollo.

16 sqq. See Ov. Met. vii. 120: Mirantur Colchi; Minyae clamoribus implent, adjiciuntque animos. In Ovid it is rather the residents

to Colchos wondered not as ye shall do, when they saw Jason turned to a ploughman.

The innate and everlasting thirst for the God-formed realm was bearing us off swift as ye see the heaven. Beatrice was gazing upward and I on her; and perhaps in so long a time as a quarrel settles, and flies, and is loosed from the notch, I saw myself come where a wondrous thing turned aside my sight to itself; and therefore she from whom my care could not be hidden, turning toward me

Non s' ammiraron, come voi farete,
Quando Iason vider fatto bifolco.
La concreata e perpetua sete
Del deiforme regno cen portava 20
Veloci quasi, come il ciel vedete.
Beatrice in suso, ed io in lei guardava:
E forse in tanto, in quanto un quadrel posa,[b]
E vola, e dalla noce si dischiava,
Giunto mi vidi, ove mirabil cosa
Mi torse il viso a sè: e però quella,
Cui non potea mia cura essere ascosa,
Volta ver me sì lieta, come bella;

[b] *in tanto quanto Gg. Cass.*

than the visitors with whom astonishment is the chief feeling. Here again, as in i. 20, there seems no special propriety in the classical allusion. Is it impertinent to suggest that Dante had just been reading the 6th and 7th Books of the Metamorphoses when he wrote these Cantos?

[21] I.e. probably "as swiftly as ye see the heaven move." But may it not mean "as quickly as the sight of the heaven reaches you," that is, with the velocity of light, that is, as far as Dante knew, instantaneously?

[23, 24] **posa, vola, dischiava.** Note the inversion of the real order; perhaps to indicate the all but simultaneous occurrence of each event.

[25] The heaven of the Moon.

joyous as beautiful, said: "Address thy mind with thanks to God, who has brought us in union with the first star."

It seemed to me that a cloud covered us, lucid, close, solid and polished, like a diamond which the sun should strike. Within itself the eternal pearl received us, as water receives a ray of light, remaining united. If I was body—and here is not conceived how one extension was patient of another, which must be the case if body enters into

Drizza la mente in Dio grata, mi disse,
Che n' ha congiunti con la prima stella. 30
Pareva a me, che nube ne coprisse
Lucida spessa solida e pulita,
Quasi adamante che lo Sol ferisse.[c]
Per entro sè l' eterna margherita
Ne ricevette, com' acqua ricepe
Raggio di luce, permanendo unita.
S' io era corpo, e qui non si concepe
Com' una dimension altra patìo,
Ch' esser convien se corpo in corpo repe,

[c] *in che Gg.; in cui Ald.*

35-39 S. T. i. Q. 67. Art. 2: Locus cujuslibet corporis est alius a loco alterius corporis, nec est possibile secundum naturam duo corpora esse simul in eodem loco; (from which he proves that light is not a body). So iii. Q. 57. Art. 4: Quamvis de natura corporis non sit, quod possit esse in eodem loco cum alio corpore; tamen potest hoc Deus facere per miraculum . . . Corpus ergo Christi simul potest esse cum alio corpore in eodem loco, non ex proprietate corporis; sed per divinam virtutem assistentem et hoc operantem. See Suppl. Q. 83. Art. 3 throughout.

38 **dimensione** usually, as in S. T. Suppl. Q. l.c., represents the Aristotelian *μέγεθος*, but here it seems to be rather loosely used in the sense of "extended body." In S. T. iii. Q. 77. Art. 4, it corresponds with *σῶμα*. "Dimensio idem est quod corpus," P. di Dante.

body—the desire ought more to inflame us of beholding that Essence in which is seen how our nature was united to God. There will be seen that which we hold by faith, not demonstrated; but it will be known of itself, in fashion of the primary truth which man believes.

I answered: "Lady, as devout as I can most be, do I give thanks to Him who has removed me from the mortal world. But tell me, what are the dark marks of this body which below on earth make some tell tales of Cain?"

She smiled a little, and then: "If the opinion of mortals

Accender ne dovria più il disio 40
Di veder quella essenzia, in che si vede,[d]
Come nostra natura e Dio s' unìo.
Lì si vedrà ciò che tenem per fede,
Non dimostrato, ma fia per sè noto,
A guisa del ver primo che l' uom crede.
Io risposi: Madonna, sì devoto,
Quant' esser posso più, ringrazio lui,[e]
Lo qual dal mortal mondo m' ha rimoto:
Ma ditemi, che sono i segni bui
Di questo corpo, che laggiuso in terra 50
Fan di Cain favoleggiare altrui?
Ella sorrise alquanto; e poi: S' egli erra
L' opinion, mi disse, de' mortali,

[d] *scienzia Gg.* [e] *Com esser Gg. Cass.* 1234.

45 Not intuitively—for Dante, following both Aristotle and Aquinas, would not admit that our knowledge of primary truths was of this kind—but as a direct object of sense, since it is through the senses that we obtain our first beliefs. See Purg. xviii. 55–57; Grote, Aristotle, p. 256.

51 **Cain**, cf. Inf. xx. 126; **altrui**, as in Pg. iv. 54.

52 **egli.** See note, Pg. xxviii. 37.

errs," said she to me, "where key of sense unlocks not, surely the darts of wonder ought not henceforth to prick thee, since thou seest that in following the senses reason has its wings shortened. But tell me what thou thinkest about it of thyself." And I: "That which appears diversified to us up here, I believe that rare and dense bodies cause." And she: "Thou wilt surely see that thy belief is sunk in falsehood, if thou listen well to the reasoning that

Dove chiave di senso non disserra,
Certo non ti dovrien punger li strali
D' ammirazione omai; poi, dietro ai sensi[f]
Vedi che la ragione ha corte l' ali.
Ma dimmi quel che tu da te ne pensi.
Ed io: Ciò che n' appar quassù diverso,
Credo che il fanno i corpi rari e densi. 60
Ed ella: Certo assai vedrai sommerso
Nel falso il creder tuo, se bene ascolti[g]
L' argomentar, ch' io gli farò avverso.

[f] *dentro ai Gg.* [g] *il veder Gg.*

60 sqq. Conv. ii. 14: Se la Luna si guarda bene, due cose si veggono in essa proprie, che non si veggono nell' altre stelle; l'una si è l' ombra ch' è in essa, la quale non è altro che rarità del suo corpo, alla quale non possono terminare i raggi del Sole e ripercuotersi così come nell' altre parti.—He now repeats this theory as to the markings on the moon's disk; but Beatrice shows that it is untenable, on the following grounds: (1) the fixed stars are of various degrees of brightness, but we know that this is due to the variety of formal principles (see below), and not to density or rarity; (2) if the moon's body consist of rare and dense strata, the former must either extend all through, in which case they would allow the sun's light to pass in an eclipse, or must be arranged with the denser parts in layers, lying over them in some places, so that the light in the darker parts is reflected from a surface at some distance below the general level of the planet. (She seems to assume that the "rare" must be absolutely transparent.) But an

I shall make in opposition to it. The eighth sphere shows you many lights, the which in quality and magnitude may be remarked to be of different aspects. If rare and dense alone had caused this, there would be in all one sole virtue, more and less distributed, and in proportion. Divers virtues must needs be the fruits of formal principles, and these, all save one, would be as a consequence of thy

La spera ottava vi dimostra molti
  Lumi, li quali e nel quale e nel quanto
  Notar si posson di diversi volti.
Se raro e denso ciò facesser tanto,
  Una sola virtù sarebbe in tutti
  Più e men distributa, ed altrettanto.
Virtù diverse esser convegnon frutti 70
  Di principi formali, e quei, fuor ch' uno,
  Seguiteriano a tua ragion distrutti.

experiment with mirrors will show that the intrinsic brightness of light is not affected by distance. The real cause is to be sought in the virtue which, having its origin in the ninth heaven, or *primum mobile*, is distributed by the next, or heaven of the fixed stars, in various influence throughout the universe. It is to be noticed that the heaven of the Moon is occupied by the souls of those who have failed to keep their vows unbroken, which may be typified by the flaws in the moon's lustre, as their inconstancy is by her changes.

70, 71 That is to say, the various influences of the heavenly bodies are the result of a variety in the original formal causes. See note to Purg. xvi. 63. Ueberweg quotes Aquinas, Contra Gentiles iii. 24: Formae quae sunt in materia venerunt a formis quae sunt sine materia, et quantum ad hoc verificatur dictum Platonis, quod formae separatae sunt principia formarum quae sunt in materia, licet posuerit eas per se subsistentes et causantes immediate formas sensibilium, nos vero ponimus eas in intellectu existentes et causantes formas inferiores per motum caeli.—**convegnon.** It is rare to find *convenire* used personally in this sense. Corticelli gives an instance from Boccaccio, Day 7, Nov. 7: Per certo io il convengo vedere.

reasoning destroyed. Further, if rarity were the cause that thou seekest of that dark part, either this planet would be to that extent lacking of its matter, or, just as a body arranges the fat and the lean, so would it change leaves in its volume. If it were the first, it would be manifest in the eclipses of the sun, by the light showing through, as when it is borne into any other rare thing. This is not the case; and therefore we have to see about the other: and if it befall that I quash the other, thy notion will be proved false. If it be the case that this rare does not pass through, there must needs be a limit, from whence its contrary does not allow it to pass further; and thence the ray from another body is poured back in such wise as colour returns through

Ancor se raro fosse di quel bruno
  Cagion, che tu dimandi, od oltre in parte,
  Fora di sua materia sì digiuno
Esto pianeta, o sì come comparte
  Lo grasso e il magro un corpo, così questo,
  Nel suo volume cangerebbe carte.
Se il primo fosse, fora manifesto
  Nell' eclissi del Sol, per trasparere 80
  Lo lume, come in altro raro ingesto.
Questo non è; però è da vedere
  Dell' altro, e s' egli avvien, ch' io l' altro cassi,
  Falsificato fia lo tuo parere.
S' egli è che questo raro non trapassi,
  Esser conviene un termine, da onde
  Lo suo contrario più passar non lassi:
E indi l' altrui raggio si rifonde
  Così, come color torna per vetro,

[82] **da.** For this use see Diez iii. 221.

glass, which has lead hidden behind it. Now thou wilt say that the ray shows itself more discoloured there than in other parts, through being there reflected from a point further back. From this objection experiment may set thee free, if thou ever make trial of it; which is wont to be the fountain to the streams of your arts. Thou shalt take three mirrors, and remove two of them from thee in the same measure, and let the other, further removed, meet thy eyes between the first two. Turn towards them, and cause a light to be placed behind thy back so as to illuminate

Lo qual diretro a se piombo nasconde. 90
Or dirai tu, che si dimostra tetro
Quivi lo raggio più che in altre parti,
Per esser lì rifratto più a retro.
Da questa instanzia può diliberarti
Esperienza, se giammai la pruovi,
Ch' esser suol fonte ai rivi di vostre arti.
Tre specchi prenderai, e due rimuovi
Da te d' un modo, e l' altro più rimosso
Tr' ambo li primi gli occhi tuoi ritruovi:
Rivolto ad essi fa che dopo il dosso[h] 100
Ti stea un lume, che i tre specchi accenda,

[h] *Rivolti Gg.* 14.

90 The mirror of glass backed with lead is mentioned, Conv. iii. 9.

93 **rifratto**, as in Purg. xv. 22.

94 **instanzia** is the scholastic rendering of Gr. *ἔνστασις*, "an objection," as in Ar. Rhet. ii. 25. See Grote, Aristotle, chap. vi.

96 **arte** = rather our "science," as in Purg. iv. 80, etc. It represents Gr. *τέχνη*. Cf. Metaph. *a.* 1: *ἀποβαίνει δ' ἐπιστήμη καὶ τέχνη διὰ τῆς ἐμπειρίας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.*

97 sqq. The point is that the intrinsic quality of light is not affected by distance. The light from the further mirror will only be less in proportion to the apparent size of the reflecting surface.

the three mirrors, and return to thee struck back by all. Although in point of magnitude the furthest image is not so much extended, thou wilt there see how it is of equal brightness. Now, as at the strokes of the hot rays, that which lies under the snow remains bare both of the colour and the cold which it had before, thee, thus remaining, I wish to inform in thy intellect with light so living, that it shall glimmer upon thee in its aspect. Within the heaven of the eternal peace revolves a body in whose virtue lies the

E torni a te da tutti ripercosso :
Benchè nel quanto tanto non si stenda
La vista più lontana, lì vedrai
Come convien ch' egualmente risplenda.
Or come ai colpi degli caldi rai
Della neve riman nudo il suggetto,
E dal colore e dal freddo primai,
Così rimaso te nello intelletto[1]
Voglio informar di luce sì vivace, 110
Che ti tremolerà nel suo aspetto.
Dentro dal ciel della divina pace
Si gira un corpo, nella cui virtute

[1] *rimosso Gg.*

107 Bianchi is clearly wrong in taking **suggetto** = "sostanza." It is absurd to say that when the snow is gone, its *substance* or *matter* remains, stripped of its accidents. I have followed Blanc and Philalethes. "È ogni cosa in che si posa la neve." Daniello.

111 **tremolerà.** So Purg. i. 117, xii. 90.

112 sqq. Inside of the fixed heaven, or Empyrean, revolves the *primum mobile* (i. 122, 123) in which originate the influences which are distributed by the next heaven, that of the fixed stars (see note to l. 70), to the various spheres which make up the universe, much as the various organs make up the human frame.

being of all that is contained in it. The heaven that follows, which has so many objects of sight, apportions that being through divers essences, distinct from it and contained by it. The other whorls through various differences dispose to their ends the distinctions which they have within themselves, and the germs thereof. These organs of the world go thus, as thou now seest, from step to step, for they receive from above and act below. Regard me well, how I am going

L' esser di tutto suo contento giace.
Lo ciel seguente, ch' ha tante vedute,
Quell' esser parte per diverse essenze
Da lui distinte e da lui contenute.
Gli altri giron per varie differenze
Le distinzion, che dentro da sè hanno,
Dispongono a lor fini, e lor semenze. 120
Questi organi del mondo così vanno,
Come tu vedi omai, di grado in grado,
Che di su prendono e di sotto fanno.[k]
Riguarda bene a me sì com' io vado[l]

[k] *procedono Gg.* [l] *Rig. omai a me si Cass.*

[120] Looking to Purg. xxx. 110, it is, I think, clear that **lor semenze** is not coupled with **lor fini**, but with **distinzion**, and is governed by **dispongono**, as Bianchi takes it. Daniello's note, "lor fine, che sono gli effetti, e lor semenze, che sono le cause effettive," does not seem to the purpose, because if that be the meaning here, **semenze** ought to come first. He reads **fine**, it will be observed.

[121] De Mundo, ch. 6: *κινηθὲν γὰρ ἕτερον ὑφ' ἑτέρου, καὶ αὐτὸ πάλιν ἐκίνησεν ἄλλο σὺν κόσμῳ.* Met. δ. 2 (1013 a. b.): *ὅσα δὴ κινήσαντος ἄλλου μεταξὺ γίγνεται τοῦ τέλους . . . διαφέρει ἀλλήλων ὡς ὄντα τὰ μὲν ὄργανα τὰ δ' ἔργα.* S. T. i. Q. 106. A. 4: Dionysius dicit 15 cap. cael. hierarch. quod unaquaeque caelestis essentia intelligentiam sibi a superiore datam inferiori communicat.

through this topic to the truth which thou desirest, so that hereafter thou mayest have knowledge to hold the passage by thyself. The movement and virtue of the holy circles, as from the smith the craft of the hammer, must needs from the blessed movers have their breath. And the heaven which so many lights make fair, from the deep mind of Him who revolves it takes the image, and makes thereof a seal. And as the soul within your dust is diffused through members different and conformed to divers faculties, so the Intelligence unfolds its goodness multiplied through the stars, revolving itself upon its unity. Divers virtue makes

Per questo loco al ver che tu disiri,
Sì che poi sappi sol tener lo guado.
Lo moto e la virtù dei santi giri,
Come dal fabbro l' arte del martello,
Da beati motor convien che spiri.
E il ciel, cui tanti lumi fanno bello, 130
Dalla mente profonda che lui volve,
Prende l' image, e fassene suggello.
E come l' alma dentro a vostra polve,
Per differenti membra, e conformate
A diverse potenzie, si risolve;
Così l' intelligenzia sua bontate
Moltiplicata per le stelle spiega,
Girando sè sovra sua unitate.

130 That is, the heaven of the fixed stars.

134, 135 Bianchi quotes Boethius iii. Metr. 9: In triplicis mediam naturae cuncta moventem Connectens animam per consona membra resolvis. **potenzie.** Cf. Purg. iv. 10, and note at end of that Canto.

136 **bontate** here and in l. 148 appears to be nearly equiv. to ἀρετή. See note to Purg. iv.

divers alloy with the precious body which it quickens, in which it is bound as life in you. Through the happy nature whence it has its source, the virtue mingled beams through the body, as joy through a living pupil. From this comes that which appears different between light and light, not from dense and rare; this is the formal principle, which produces in conformity with its goodness, the dull and the bright."

Virtù diversa fa diversa lega
  Col prezioso corpo ch' ell' avviva, 140
  Nel qual, sì come vita in voi, si lega.
Per la natura lieta, onde deriva,
  La virtù mista per lo corpo luce,
  Come letizia per pupilla viva.
Da essa vien cio che da luce a luce
  Par differente, non da denso e raro:
  Essa è formal principio che produce,
Conforme a sua bontà, lo turbo e il chiaro.

[139] Cf. S. T. i. Q. 115. Art. 3: Actiones corporum caelestium diversimode recipiuntur in inferioribus corporibus, secundum diversam materiae dispositionem.

[142] **lieta.** Cf. Purg. xvi. 89.

[148] P. di Dante ends his Commentary on this Canto with the following remark, which deserves quoting for its almost touching *naïveté*: "Alia per te vide, imo omnia, quia nil vidi, nec intellexi." It is fair to say that the last seven words are not found in all Codices.

CANTO III.

ARGUMENT.

Certain souls appear, of those who on earth have taken holy vows, and failed to keep them. Dante speaks with Piccarda, who shows him how in Paradise all are content with their lot; and he sees Constance the Empress.

THAT sun, which once scalded my breast with love, had, in proving and refuting, discovered to me the sweet countenance of fair truth; and I, to confess myself corrected, and certain in such measure as was meet, raised my head more erect to utter. But a vision appeared, which held me so straitly to itself by the sight of it, that I did not remember my confession.

QUEL Sol, che pria d' amor mi scaldò il petto,
  Di bella verità m' avea scoverto,
  Provando e riprovando, il dolce aspetto:
Ed io, per confessar corretto e certo
  Me stesso, tanto quanto si convenne
  Levai il capo a profferer più erto.
Ma visione apparve, che ritenne
  A sè me tanto stretto, per vedersi,
  Che di mia confession non mi sovenne.

[3] **provando e riprovando,** by showing me wherein I was wrong, and pointing out the true theory.

As through glasses transparent and polished, or through waters clear and calm, not so deep as to make the bottom dark, the outlines of our visages return so weak that a pearl on a white forehead comes not with less force to our eyes, like this saw I many faces, ready to speak: so that I ran into the contrary error to that which kindled love between the man and the fountain. Soon as I took notice of them, judging them to be mirrored features, I turned aside my eyes, to see whose they were; and saw nothing and turned

Quali per vetri trasparenti e tersi, 10
O ver per acque nitide e tranquille
Non sì profonde che i fondi sien persi,
Tornan de' nostri visi le postille
Debili sì, che perla in bianca fronte
Non vien men tosto alle nostre pupille:[a]
Tali vid' io più facce a parlar pronte:
Per ch' io dentro all' error contrario corsi
A quel ch' accese amor tra l' uomo e il fonte.
Subito, sì com' io di lor m' accorsi,
Quelle estimando specchiati sembianti,[b] 20
Per veder di cui fosser, gli occhi torsi,
E nulla vidi, e ritorsili avanti

[a] *vennē forte Gg.; vien men forte* 124. [b] *spiegati Gg.*

[12] **persi.** Many, perhaps most comm. take this as here = **perduti.** There is, however, no other instance in D. C. of this form, so that it seems better on the whole to take it in the usual sense. See note to Purg. ix. 97. The image is one of Dante's best.

[13] **postille.** Lit. short marginal or interlinear notes, giving the sense of a word or passage.

[17] Narcissus supposed a reflection to be a real face; I supposed these faces to be reflections of persons behind me.

them back straight forward in the light of my sweet guide, who was glowing with a smile in her holy eyes.

"Marvel not though I smile," she said to me, "after thy childish thought, since thou dost not yet trust thy foot upon the truth, but turnest round, as the wont is, on vacancy. These that thou seest are true substances, relegated here for failure of a vow. Wherefore talk with them, and hear and believe; for the light of truth which satisfies them, suffers them not to turn aside their feet from it."

And I directed myself toward the shade that seemed most fain to converse, and began, like a man from whom excess of willing takes power: "O spirit created to good

Dritti nel lume della dolce guida,
Che sorridendo ardea negli occhi santi.
Non ti maravigliar perch' io sorrida,
Mi disse, appresso il tuo pueril coto,
Poi sopra il vero ancor lo piè non fida,
Ma te rivolve, come suole, a voto;
Vere sustanzie son ciò che tu vedi,
Qui rilegate per manco di voto. 30
Però parla con esse, ed odi e credi,[c]
Che la verace luce che le appaga,
Da sè non lascia lor torcer li piedi.
Ed io all' ombra che parea più vaga
Di ragionar, drizza' mi, e cominciai,
Quasi com' uom cui troppa voglia smaga:
O ben creato spirito, ch' ai rai

[c] *parla con lor Gg.; cortese* 2.

32, 33 Perhaps a reference to Psalm cxix. (Vulg. cxviii.) 105: Lucerna pedibus meis verbum tuum, et lumen semitis meis.

37 **ben creato**, so **ben nati**, Purg. v. 60.

who in the rays of eternal life perceivest the sweetness which if not tasted is never understood, it will be gracious to me, if thou content me with thy name and your lot." Wherefore she, readily and with laughing eyes: "Our charity locks not doors upon a just wish, any more than that which would have all its court like to itself. I was in the world a virgin Sister; and if thy mind regards me well, my being more fair will not hide me from thee, but thou wilt recognise that I am Piccarda, who posted here with these other blessed ones, am blessed in the sphere that moves most slowly. Our affections which are inflamed only in the pleasure of the Holy Spirit rejoice, being formed in

Di vita eterna la dolcezza senti,
Che non gustata non s' intende mai;
Grazioso mi fia, se mi contenti 40
Del nome tuo e della vostra sorte.
Ond' ella pronta e con occhi ridenti:
La nostra carità non serra porte
A giusta voglia, se non come quella,
Che vuol simile a sè tutta sua corte.
Io fui nel mondo vergine sorella:
E se la mente tua ben si riguarda,
Non mi ti celerà l' esser più bella,
Ma riconoscerai ch' io son Piccarda,
Che posta qui con questi altri beati, 50
Beata son nella spera più tarda.
Li nostri affetti, che solo infiammati
Son nel piacer dello Spirito Santo,

41 **vostra,** i.e. of thyself and those with thee.
44 **se non come.** Cf. i. 137. **quella** = the love of God.
49 **Piccarda.** See Purg. xxiv. 10–16. She was sister to Corso and Forese Donati.

His order. And this lot, which below appears so great, is for this reason given to us, because our vows were neglected, and void in some part." Wherefore I to her: "In your marvellous aspects shines forth something divine, which transmutes you from the former conception. Wherefore I was not quick to remember; but now that which thou sayest aids me, so that to recall thy figure is easier to me. But tell me, ye who are happy here, do ye feel the want of a higher place, for the sake of fuller vision, or to make to you more friends?" With those other shades she first

Letizian del suo ordine formati:
E questa sorte, che par giù cotanto,
Però n' è data, perchè fur negletti
Li nostri voti, e voti in alcun canto.
Ond' io a lei: Ne' mirabili aspetti
Vostri risplende non so che divino,
Che vi trasmuta dai primi concetti: 60
Però non fui a rimembrar festino;
Ma or m' aiuta ciò che tu mi dici,
Sì che il raffigurar m' è più latino.
Ma dimmi: voi, che siete qui felici,
Desiderate voi più alto loco,
Per più vedere, o per più farvi amici?
Con quell' altr' ombre pria sorrise un poco:

54 Remember that *ordine* is *forma*: i. 104.

57 Observe the play on **voti.** See Purg. xxv. 42.

58-60 Cf. his difficulty at first in recognising her brother Forese, Purg. xxiii. 43. Dante seems to take a certain pleasure in such parallels between members of the same family, as in the case of Guido da Montefeltro and his son Buonconte, Inf. xxvii. and Purg. v.

63 **latino.** So Conv. ii. 3: A più latinamente vedere la sentenzia litterale. See Glossary.

smiled a little; after that she answered me with such joy that she appeared to be burning in the prime fire of love: "Brother, a virtue of charity sets at rest our will, which makes us wish that only which we have, and lets us not thirst for aught else. If we desired to be more on high, our desires would be out of harmony with the will of Him who distributes us here, for which thou wilt see there is no capacity in these circles, if to be in charity is necessary here, and thou regardest well its nature. Rather is it

Da indi mi rispose tanto lieta,
Ch' arder parea d' amor nel primo foco:
Frate, la nostra volontà quieta 70
Virtù di carità, che fa volerne
Sol quel ch' avemo, e d' altro non ci asseta.
Se disiassimo esser più superne,
Foran discordi gli nostri disiri
Dal voler di colui, che qui ne cerne:
Che vedrai non capere in questi giri;
S' essere in caritate è qui necesse,
E se la sua natura ben rimiri:
Anzi è formale ad esso beato esse,

68 **Da indi** = precisely Lat. *deinde.*

69 Land. and others understand **primo foco** as the Moon, and take **d' amor** directly with **arder**; but Vellutello's interpretation seems best: "cioè nel più vehemente fuoco d' amore." . . .

73 "Nulli beato deest aliquod bonum desiderandum, cum habet ipsum bonum infinitum." S. T. ii. 1. Q. 5. Art. 2.

79 S. T. ii. 1. Q. 19. Art. 10: Conformatur quantum ad hoc voluntas hominis voluntati divinae quia vult hoc quod Deus vult eum velle. Est et alius modus conformitatis secundum rationem causae formalis, ut scilicet homo velit aliquid ex charitate sicut Deus vult; et ista etiam conformitas reducitur ad conformitatem formalem, quae attenditur ex ordine ad ultimum finem: quod est propriam objectum charitatis. . . . Sed in particulari nescimus quod Deus velit . . . in statu

formal to this blessed existence to hold oneself within the divine will, wherefore our wills themselves become one. So that as we are from threshold to threshold throughout this realm it pleases all the realm as well as the King who makes us will within His will. In His will is our peace; it is that sea whereunto all moves, that which it creates and which nature makes." It was clear to me then how everywhere in heaven is paradise, even if the grace of the highest Good falls not there in one fashion. But as it befalls, if one food satiates, and the appetite for another still remains,

Tenersi dentro alla divina voglia, 80
Per ch' una fansi nostre voglie stesse.
Sì che come noi siam di soglia in soglia
Per questo regno, a tutto il regno piace,
Com' allo re ch' in suo voler ne invoglia.[d]
In la sua volontade è nostra pace;[e]
Ella è quel mare, al qual tutto si muove
Ciò ch' ella crea e che natura face.
Chiaro mi fu allor, com' ogni dove
In cielo è Paradiso, e sì la grazia
Del sommo ben d' un modo non vi piove. 90
Ma sì com' egli avvien, se un cibo sazia,[f]
E d' un altro rimane ancor la gola,

[d] *a suo v. Ald. W.* [e] *Et la sua v.* 124 *Ald. W.*
[f] *che un cibo Gg.* 24.

tamen gloriae omnes videbunt in singulis quae volent ordinem eorum ad id quod Deus circa hoc vult: et ideo non solum formaliter, sed materialiter in omnibus suam voluntatem Deo conformabunt.

[84] **invoglia.** The use is a little different from that in Purg. xiv. 110. There *ne* (=*noi*) is the remote, here the immediate object.

[87] God creates the matter, nature makes the form. See S. T. i. Q. 45, *passim.*

that one is asked for and the other refused with thanks, in such wise did I with act and word, to learn from her what was the web whereof she did not draw the shuttle to the end.

"A perfect life and high desert place in a higher heaven," said she to me, "a dame after whose rule down in your world they wear the robe and veil, so that all through till death, waking and sleeping, they may be with that spouse who accepts every vow which charity conforms to his pleasure. To follow her I fled a young girl from the world, and in her habit I enclosed myself and undertook the way

Che quel si chiede, e di quel si ringrazia,
Così fec' io con atto e con parola,
Per apprender da lei qual fu la tela,
Onde non trasse insino al cò la spola.
Perfetta vita ed alto merto inciela
Donna più su, mi disse, alla cui norma
Nel vostro mondo giù si veste e vela;
Perchè in fino al morir si vegghi e dorma 100
Con quello sposo, ch' ogni voto accetta,
Che caritate a suo piacer conforma.
Dal mondo, per seguirla, giovinetta
Fuggimmi, e nel suo abito mi chiusi,
E promisi la via della sua setta.

95 Daniello's explanation seems the best: "cioè qual si fosse stato il voto ch' ella non havea adempiato." The objection that Dante must have known it already, would apply to most of the questions that he asks concerning the former life of the persons whom he introduces.

98 **Donna.** St. Clara was born of a noble family at Assisi, 1194. She attached herself to her fellow-citizen St. Francis, and under his direction founded the order which goes by her name. She died 1253.

of her order. Afterwards men more used to ill than to good carried me away forth of the sweet cloister; God knows of what sort was my life thereafter!

"And this other glory, which is displaying itself to thee on my right side, and which is kindled with all the light of our sphere, that which I say of me understands of herself. She was a Sister, and in this wise from her head was taken the shade of the sacred coif. But after that she was turned back even to the world, against her own will and against good custom, she was in her heart never

Uomini poi a mal più ch' a bene usi,
  Fuor mi rapiron della dolce chiostra:
  Dio lo si sa, qual poi mia vita fusi.
E quest' altro splendor, che ti si mostra
  Dalla mia destra parte, e che s' accende 110
  Di tutto il lume della spera nostra,
Ciò ch' io dico di me, di sè intende:
  Sorella fu, e così le fu tolta
  Di capo l' ombra delle sacre bende.
Ma poi che pur al mondo fu rivolta
  Contra suo grado e contra buona usanza,

106 **Uomini.** I.e. her brother Corso, and a band of his satellites, who dragged her from the convent, and compelled her to resume the secular life.

109 sqq. Constance, daughter of Roger, King of Sicily, Apulia, and Calabria, son of Roger, "the Great Count," the brother of Robert Guiscard. Her brother William, "the Bad," put her into a convent, whence she was taken by his son William, "the Good," to be married to the Emperor Henry VI., son of Frederick Barbarossa. By him she became the mother of Frederick II., who from her, William having died without children, inherited the kingdoms of Sicily and Apulia. (See Villani iv. 20 and v. 16. He rather mixes up the genealogy of the family.)

loosed from the veil. This is the light of the great Constance, who by the second whirlwind of Suabia gave birth to the third, and the last power."

Thus she talked with me, and then began singing *Ave Maria*, and singing she vanished as does a heavy body through deep water. My sight which followed her so long as was possible after it lost her turned to the mark of greatest desire, and converged wholly upon Beatrice; but she flashed so in my gaze that at first the sight endured it not; and that made me more slow at asking.

Non fu dal vel del cuor giammai disciolta.
Quest' è la luce della gran Gostanza,
Che del secondo vento di Soave
Generò il terzo, e l' ultima possanza. 120
Così parlommi : e poi cominciò *Ave*
Maria, cantando ; e cantando vanìo,
Come per acqua cupa cosa grave.
La vista mia, che tanto la seguìo
Quanto possibil fu, poi che la perse,
Volsesi al segno di maggior disio,
Ed a Beatrice tutta si converse :
Ma quella folgorò nello mio sguardo
Sì che da prima il viso nol sofferse :
E ciò mi fece a dimandar più tardo. 130

[117] This is the converse of Villani's view : "la quale non volontariamente, ma per temenza di morte, quasi come monaca si nutricava in alcuno munistero di monache ;" and "era del corpo non della mente monaca."

[120] **ultima.** Cf. the often-quoted passage Conv. iv. 3 : Federigo di Soave, ultimo imperadore e re de' Romani (ultimo, dico, per rispetto al tempo presente, non ostante che Ridolfo e Adolfo e Alberto poi eletti sieno . . .)

[123] Observe the return to the image of l. 11.

CANTO IV.

ARGUMENT.

Dante falls into doubt concerning two matters: first, how merit can be diminished by acts done under compulsion; secondly in regard to a certain doctrine of Plato, touching the abode of souls in the stars. Beatrice resolves both questions.

BETWEEN two foods, distant and moving in like measure, a man being free would die of hungèr, before he should bring one to his teeth. So would a lamb stand between two ravening fierce wolves, fearing equally; so would a hound stand between two does. Wherefore, if I held my

INTRA due cibi, distanti e moventi
D' un modo, prima si morrìa di fame,
Che libero uomo l' un recasse ai denti.[a]
Sì si starebbe un agno intra due brame
Di fieri lupi, igualmente temendo:
Sì si starebbe un cane intra due dame.

[a] *huom' l' un si rec. Ald. Land.*

1-6 The dilemma which Dante here states, and which a little later became known as "the ass of Buridan" (whence doubtless our familiar phrase is derived), seems to have been a favourite subject of logic in the Middle Ages. It is at least as old as Aristotle, who in De Caelo ii. 13 speaks of ὁ περὶ τῆς τριχὸς λόγος τῆς ἰσχυρῶς μὲν

peace, I do not blame myself, being urged in one and the same measure by my doubts, since it was necessary, nor do I praise.

I held my peace, but my desire was depicted on my face, and my demand with it in far warmer colours than by distinct speech. So did Beatrice as did Daniel, in easing Nebuchadnezzar of wrath which had made him unjustly cruel; and said: "I see well how one and another desire draws thee, so that thy care binds its own self in such

Per chè s' io mi tacea, me non riprendo,
  Dalli miei dubbj d' un modo sospinto,
  Poich' era necessario, nè commendo.
Io mi tacea: ma il mio disir dipinto 10
  M' era nel viso, e il dimandar con ello
  Più caldo assai, che per parlar distinto.
Fe sì Beatrice, qual fe Daniello,[b]
  Nabucodonosor levando d' ira,
  Che l' avea fatto ingiustamente fello.
E disse: Io veggio ben come ti tira
  Uno ed altro disio, sì che tua cura
  Sè stessa lega sì che fuor non spira.

[b] *Fessi* 134 *Ald.; Fe se* 2.

ὁμοίως δὲ πάντῃ τεινομένης, ὅτι οὐ διαρραγήσεται· καὶ τοῦ διψῶντος καὶ πεινῶντος σφόδρα μὲν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐδωδίμων καὶ ποτῶν ἴσον ἀπέχοντος· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον ἠρεμεῖν ἀναγκαῖον. Aquinas S. T. ii. 1. Q. 13. Art. 6 makes the opponent of the orthodox doctrine employ it as an argument against the freedom of the will, so that it may be intentionally introduced here at the beginning of a Canto in which questions concerning the will are discussed. **moventi,** because "voluntas movetur ab appetitu sensitivo." **brame di lupi,** like "sapientia Laeli."

[13] I.e. she divined his thought without being told. The allusion is to Dan. ii. 24.

wise, that it sends not forth breath. Thou debatest; if the good will endures, by what reason does another's violence diminish the measure of desert in me? Further it gives thee occasion for doubting, that the souls appear to return to the stars, according to the opinion of Plato. These are the questions which are thrusting with equal force in thy will; and therefore I will first treat of that which has most of gall.

"Of the Seraphim not that one who has most part in

Tu argomenti: Se il buon voler dura,
La violenza altrui per qual ragione 20
Di meritar mi scema la misura?
Ancor di dubitar ti dà cagione,
Parer tornarsi l' anime alle stelle,
Secondo la sentenza di Platone.
Queste son le quistion, che nel tuo velle
Pontano igualmente; e però pria
Tratterò quella che più ha di felle.
Dei Serafin colui che più s' indìa,

22-24 See the account of the creation of souls in Timaeus 41, 42: *ξυστήσας δὲ τὸ πᾶν διεῖλε ψυχὰς ἰσαρίθμους τοῖς ἄστροις ἔνειμε θ' ἑκάστην πρὸς ἕκαστον, καὶ ἐμβιβάσας ὡς ἐς ὄχημα τὴν τοῦ παντὸς φύσιν ἔδειξε, νόμους τε τοὺς εἱμαρμένους εἴρηκεν αὐτοῦς, ὅτι γένεσις πρώτη μὲν ἕσοιτο τεταγμένη μία πᾶσιν . . . καὶ ὁ μὲν εὖ τὸν προσήκοντα χρόνον βιοὺς πάλιν εἰς τὴν τοῦ ξυννόμου πορευθεὶς οἴκησιν ἄστρου βίον εὐδαίμονα καὶ συνήθη ἕξοι.* Dante's doubt arises, as P. di Dante rightly sees, from the fact that Piccarda having implied that a place in the sphere of the Moon was assigned to her, "videbatur sequi quod dicit Plato, in quo libro asserit animas ad astra redire, quod est erroneum et reprobatum."

27 She deals first with the question which, as affecting the individual creation of souls and the freedom of the will, involves a theological error rather than one of ethics only.

God, Moses, Samuel, nor that John, whichever thou wilt take, I say, not Mary, have their stalls in another heaven than those spirits who but now appeared to thee, nor have to their being more years or fewer. But all make the first circle beautiful, and have a life diversely sweet, through feeling more and less the eternal breath. They show themselves here, not because this sphere is allotted to them, but to give a sign of their heavenliness, that it has a

Moisè, Samuello, e quel Giovanni
Qual prender vuogli, io dico, non Maria,[c] 30
Non hanno in altro cielo i loro scanni,
Che quegli spirti che mo t' appariro,
Nè hanno all' esser lor più o meno anni.
Ma tutti fanno bello il primo giro,
E differentemente han dolce vita,
Per sentir più e men l' eterno spiro.
Qui si mostraro, non perchè sortita
Sia questa spera lor, ma per far segno
Della celestial ch' han men salita.[e]

[c] *Che pr. Gg. Cass.* 124. [d] *ci app. Gg.*
[e] *della spiritual Gg.* 23.

30 I.e. the Evangelist or the Baptist. Corticelli notes **vuogli** as an old form.

31 sqq. All the Blessed have, as will be seen later, their own places in the Empyrean, or highest heaven, and are not fixed in particular spheres, as the Platonic doctrine would make them. Nevertheless, the degree of their blessedness differs (l. 36). This has been from early times the interpretation of such expressions in N. T. as "many mansions" ("Per quas," says Aquinas, S. T. ii. 1. Q. 5. A. 2, "ut Augustinus dicit, diversae meritorum dignitates intelliguntur in vita aeterna"), "one star differeth from another star in glory," the end of the "Parable of the Talents," etc.

less ascent. Thus it behoves to speak to your wit, seeing that only from an object of sense does it apprehend that which it afterwards makes meet for intelligence. For this cause the Scripture condescends to your faculty, and attributes feet and hands to God, and understands something else; and holy Church represents to you with human likeness Gabriel and Michael, and the other who made Tobias whole again. That which Timaeus reasons about the souls is not like to what is seen here,—for it seems that as he says he thinks. He says that the

Così parlar conviensi al vostro ingegno, 40
Perocchè solo da sensato apprende
Ciò che fa poscia d' intelletto degno.
Per questo la Scrittura condiscende
A vostra facultate, e piedi e mano
Attribuisce a Dio, ed altro intende:
E santa Chiesa con aspetto umano
Gabbriel e Michel vi rappresenta,
E l' altro, che Tobbia rifece sano.
Quel che Timeo dell' anime argomenta,
Non è simile a ciò, che qui si vede, 50
Però chè come dice par che senta.
Dice, che l' alma alla sua stella riede,

[41] A very explicit statement of the doctrine, "Nihil esse in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu." See Purg. xviii. 55. St. Thomas modifies it slightly: "intellectus operatio oritur a sensu."—S. T. i. Q. 78. A. 4.

[48] **l' altro.** Raphael. Observe that Dante confuses Tobit with Tobias.

[51] Because he appears to be giving what he intends for a real and not merely a metaphorical account of the origin and destination of the soul.

soul returns to its own star, believing that it was cut thence when nature gave it for form. And haply his own opinion is otherwise than his words sound, and it may be that it is with intent not to be mocked. If he means that to these wheels returns the honour of their influence and the blame, haply his bow strikes upon some truth. This principle ill-understood has already turned aside the whole world almost, so that it has gone astray to give the names of Jove Mercury and Mars.

Credendo quella quindi esser decisa,
Quando natura per forma la diede.
E forse sua sentenzia è d' altra guisa,
Che la voce non suona, ed esser puote
Con intenzion da non esser derisa.
S' egli intende tornare a queste ruote
L' onor dell' influenza e il biasmo, forse
In alcun vero suo arco percuote. 60
Questo principio male inteso torse
Già tutto il mondo quasi, sì che Giove
Mercurio e Marte a nominar trascorse.

[54] De An. ii. 1 : *ἀναγκαῖον ἄρα τὴν ψυχὴν οὐσίαν εἶναι ὡς εἶδος σώματος φυσικοῦ δυνάμει ζωὴν ἔχοντος.* S. T. i. Q. 76. A. 4 : Anima est forma substantialis hominis, etc. Longf. quotes Spenser, Hymne in Honour of Beauty, l. 133 : "For soule is forme, and doth the bodie make."

[55-57] This suggestion is rather curious, considering that in an immediately preceding passage of the Timaeus (40 D.) Plato very distinctly is speaking otherwise than as he thinks. See Grote *ad loc.* and Dr. Thompson's note to Archer Butler, vol. ii. p. 23. Eusebius, it appears, has noticed the irony in this latter passage.

[56] **che non suona.** For the use of *non* in comparative sentences see Diez iii. 394.

[63] **nominar,** "adoravan," Landino. Scartazzini says "to call upon," referring to Genesis iv. 26. There is clearly an allusion to St.

"The other doubt which disturbs thee has less venom, inasmuch as its mischief would not be able to lead thee from me elsewhere. That our justice should appear unjust in the eyes of mortals is argument of faith and pertains not to heretic pravity. But seeing that your understanding well can

L' altra dubitazion che ti commuove,
Ha men velen, però chè sua malizia
Non ti porìa menar da me altrove.
Parere ingiusta la nostra giustizia
Negli occhi dei mortali, è argomento[f]
Di fede, e non d' eretica nequizia.
Ma perchè puote vostro accorgimento 70

[f] *Nel senso Gg.*

Augustine, De Civ. Dei vii. 15: "De stellis quibusdam, quas pagani deorum suorum nominibus nuncupaverunt." Philalethes, without much authority, reads "numinar," and renders "vergöttern."

67-69 These lines present a good deal of difficulty. Taking them in connection with those that precede and follow, we see clearly their general drift, viz., that no heresy is involved in the question under discussion; since "nec fides nec opinio potest esse de ipsis visis aut secundum sensum aut secundum intellectum" (S. T. ii. Q. 1. A. 4), while "haeresis consistit circa ea quae fidei sunt" (ib. id. Q. 11); and human reason is able of itself to see that "God's ways are not as man's ways." (See, for instance, Ar. Eth. v. 7. § 3: *τοῦτο δ' [τὰ δίκαια κινεῖσθαι] οὐκ ἔστιν οὕτως ἔχον, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὥς. Καίτοι παρά γε τοῖς θεοῖς ἴσως οὐδαμῶς· παρ' ἡμῖν δ' ἔστι μέν τί καὶ φύσει, κινητὸν μέντοι πᾶν.*) This is of course the reason why this second doubt "ha men velen," no theological error being involved in it (l. 66). But how can any doubt on this matter be an "argomento" of faith? The word has been variously taken as = "evidence of" (cf. Heb. xi. 1, where faith itself is the *argumentum*, in the rendering of the Vulg.); "argument in favour of"; "motive, ground for"; or "subject-matter." The last is excluded by the consideration that the subject-matter of faith is also that of heresy; while in regard to the others there is the difficulty that if the doubt was an evidence of Dante's own faith, or an argument or motive

penetrate to this truth, I will as thou desirest make thee content. If violence is when he who suffers contributes nothing to him who compels, these souls were not on its account excused; for will, if it wills not, is not brought to nought, but acts as Nature does in fire, if violence wrench it

Ben penetrare a questa veritate,
Come disiri, ti farò contento.
Se violenza è quando quel che pate
Niente conferisce a quel che sforza,
Non fur quest' alme per essa scusate;
Chè volontà, se non vuol, non s' ammorza,
Ma fa come natura face in foco,

for faith generally, there was no reason why it should be said to have any "gall" or "venom" at all. The solution is, I think, to be sought in a phrase of Aquinas, S. T. ii. 1. Q. 14. A. 4: "ratio inquisitiva, quae dicitur argumentum, est rei dubiae faciens fidem." The question is one which may be fairly discussed, with the result of strengthening faith, and with no fear of lapsing into heresy. It seems best then to join **d' eretica nequizia** directly with **è**, and interpret ll. 65–72 thus: "There is no offence to theological truth in your doubt as to the justice of the inferior lot assigned to Piccarda and the rest. To find apparent injustice in certain of God's dealings is not a matter of heresy, its discussion is even a possible aid to faith. *But* as it is a matter which reason can deal with, I will explain the case before us."

73 sqq. In order that an action may be blameless it is not sufficient that it should be involuntary, or done under constraint of violence, i.e. that the person undergoing compulsion should refrain from any co-operation with the person compelling: as soon as the pressure is removed, he must return to his original position, or course of action.

73, 74 Word for word from Aristotle, Eth. iii. 1 (translated by Aquinas, S. T. ii. 2. Q. 175. A. 1, but incidentally to a different subject): *Βίαιον δὲ οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἔξωθεν, τοιαύτη οὖσα ἐν ᾗ μηδὲν συμβάλλεται ὁ πράττων ἢ* ("or rather") *ὁ πάσχων.*

76 S. T. ii. 1. Q. 6. Art. 4: Duplex est actus voluntatis: unus quidem, qui est ejus immediate, velut ab ipsa elicitus, scilicet velle. Alius autem est actus voluntatis a voluntate imperatus et mediante alia potentia exercitus. . . . Quantum igitur ad actus a voluntate imperatos

a thousand times. Wherefore, if it bends little or much, it follows the force; and so did these when they might have returned to the sacred place. If their will had remained whole, as it held Laurence on the gridiron and made Mutius stern to his own hand, so it would have hurried them back by the way whence they were dragged, as soon as they were loosed; but so stout a will is too rare. And by these words, if thou hast gathered them up as thou oughtest, is the argument quashed, which would have annoyed thee many times yet.

Se mille volte violenza il torza.
Per chè s' ella si piega assai o poco,
Segue la forza; e così queste fero, 80
Possendo ritornare al santo loco.[g]
Se fosse stato il lor volere intero,
Come tenne Lorenzo in-su la grada,
E fece Muzio alla sua man severo,
Così l' avria ripinte per la strada,
Ond' eran tratte, come furo sciolte:
Ma così salda voglia è troppo rada.
E per queste parole, se ricolte
L' hai come dèi, è l' argomento casso,
Che t' avria fatto noia ancor più volte. 90

[g] *rifuggir Gg.*

voluntas violentiam pati potest, inquantum per violentiam exteriora [? -orem] membra impediri possunt ne imperium voluntatis exequantur; sed quantum ad ipsum proprium actum voluntatis, non potest ei violentia inferri. Aquinas takes the example of a stone thrown upwards, its nature being to descend; Dante, as elsewhere, takes fire forced downwards. See also Ar. Eth. iii. 1, *passim*. **ammorza,** lit. "put to death," but always metaph. Inf. xiv. 63 and (in form *ammorta*) 90, etc.

[84] Dante is fond of referring to the story of Mutius Scaevola: see Conv. iv. 5, De Mon. ii. 5.

"But now another strait is in the way, before thy eyes such that by thyself thou wouldest not issue from it, before thou shouldst be weary. I have put it for certain into thy mind that a soul in bliss could not lie, inasmuch as it is ever near to the primal truth. And then it was possible for thee to hear from Piccarda that Constance retained her love for the veil; so that she appears in this to be at variance with me. Many times already, brother, has it befallen that in order to shun danger, against his will a man has done

Ma or ti s' attraversa un altro passo
  Dinanzi agli occhi tal, che per te stesso
  Non n' usciresti pria saresti lasso.
Io t' ho per certo nella mente messo,
  Ch' alma beata non porìa mentire,
  Però che sempre al primo vero è presso:[h]
E poi potesti da Piccarda udire,
  Che l' affezion del vel Gostanza tenne,
  Sì ch' ella par qui meco contraddire.
Molte fiate già, frate, addivenne 100
  Che per fuggir periglio, contro a grato

[h] *Però ch' è . . . appresso Gg. Cass.* 124 *W.*

90 **più volte.** I.e. you will see other instances of the same apparent inequality. See especially xix. 67 sqq. where the question of God's justice is again discussed.

91 sqq. Beatrice meets a possible objection: if, as Piccarda has said (iii. 117), Constance was never in heart separated from the religious life, why did she not act in the way above suggested?

94, 95 See iii. 31 sqq.

100–105 Ar. Eth. l.c.: *Ἔνια δ' ἴσως οὐκ ἔστιν ἀναγκασθῆναι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀποθανετέον παθόντι τὰ δεινότατα· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Εὐριπίδου Αλκμαίωνα γελοῖα φαίνεται τὰ ἀναγκάσαντα μητροκτονῆσαι.* See Purg. xii. 50 for the story of Alcmaeon.

that which it behoved not to do: like Alcmaeon, who when entreated on that behalf by his father, slew his own mother; not to lack piety, he made himself pitiless. In regard to this point I wish thee to think that the force mingles itself with the will, and they act so that the offences cannot be excused. Will absolute consents not to the wrong, but it does consent to it in so far as it fears if it draws back, to fall into a greater distress. Wherefore, when Piccarda uses that expression, she means

Si fe di quel che far non si convenne:
Come Almeone, che di ciò pregato
Dal padre suo, la propria madre spense;
Per non perder pietà si fe spietato.
A questo punto voglio che tu pense
Che la forza al voler si mischia, e fanno[i]
Sì che scusar non si posson l' offense.
Voglia assoluta non consente al danno:
Ma consentevi intanto, quanto teme 110
Se si ritrae, cadere in più affanno.
Però quando Piccarda quello spreme,

[i] *e 'l voler Gg.*

105 A reminiscence of Ov. Met. ix. 408: "facto pius et sceleratus eodem."

106.111 S. T. ii. 1. Q. 6. A. 6: Quod per metum fit, simpliciter voluntarium est, secundum quid autem involuntarium. . . . Id enim quod per metum agitur in se consideratum non est voluntarium, sed fit voluntarium in casu, scilicet ad vitandum malum quod timetur; sed si quis recte consideret, magis sunt hujusmodi voluntaria quam involuntaria . . . sicut projectio mercium in mare fit voluntarium tempore tempestatis, propter timorem periculi. And Aristotle, l.c.: ἁπλῶς (**voglia assoluta**) *μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀποβάλλεται ἑκὼν, ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ δ' αὑτοῦ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἅπαντες οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες. Μικταὶ μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν αἱ τοιαῦται πράξεις, ἐοίκασι δὲ μᾶλλον ἑκουσίαις.*

it of the will absolute, and I of the other, so that we both say true together."

Such was the rippling of the sacred stream, which issued from the fount whence all truth flows down; such set at rest one and the other desire. "O love of the primal Lover, O goddess," said I thereafter, "whose speaking bathes and warms me so that more and more it quickens me, my affection has no such depth that it may suffice to render to you grace for grace; but may He who sees and can, reply to this. I see well that our intellect is never sated, if the True illuminate it not, outside of whom no truth has space. In that it reposes, as a creature in a den, so soon as it has reached it; and it can reach it—if not each desire would be in vain. For

Della voglia assoluta intende, ed io
Dell' altra, sì che ver diciamo insieme.
Cotal fu l' ondeggiar del santo rio,
Ch' uscì del fonte, ond' ogni ver deriva:
Tal pose in pace uno ed altro disio.
O amanza del primo amante, o diva,
Diss' io appresso, il cui parlar m' innonda
E scalda sì che più e più m' avviva: 120
Non è l' affezion mia tanto profonda,
Che basti a render voi grazia per grazia:
Ma quei che vede e puote, a ciò risponda.
Io veggio ben, che giammai non si sazia
Nostro intelletto, se il ver non lo illustra,
Di fuor dal qual nessun vero si spazia.
Posasi in esso come fera in lustra,
Tosto che giunto l' ha: e giunger puollo,
Se non ciascun disio sarebbe *frustra*.

[122] **grazia** has, of course, the two meanings of "thanks" and "favour." Cf. Purg. xxxi. 136.

[129] Cf. Purg. iii. 38 sqq.

that reason is born, in fashion of a scion, the doubt at the foot of the truth; and it is nature which urges us to the summit from ridge to ridge. This invites me, this makes me bold, with reverence, Lady, to ask you of another truth which is obscure to me. I would know if one can so make satisfaction for broken vows with other good deeds, that they shall not be wanting in your balance."

Beatrice regarded me with her eyes full of love's sparks, so divine that my powers overcome I turned my back, and as it were lost myself with downcast eyes.

Nasce per quello a guisa di rampollo 130
  Appiè del vero il dubbio: ed è natura,
  Ch' al sommo pinge noi di collo in collo.[k]
Questo m' invita, questo m' assicura
  Con riverenza, Donna, a dimandarvi
  D' un' altra verità, che m' è oscura.
Io vo' saper se l' uom può satisfarvi
  Ai voti manchi sì con altri beni,
  Ch' alla vostra stadera non sien parvi.
Beatrice mi guardò con gli occhi pieni
  Di faville d' amor, così divini,[l] 140
  Che, vinta mia virtù, diedi le reni,[m]
E quasi mi perdei con gli occhi chini.

[k] *pinge il ver* 145. [l] *con si div. Gg.* 3 *Ald. Land.*
[m] *virtute die Cass.* 134 *Ald.; virtu diede* 2 *W.*

136 The question as to the commutation of a vow is treated of S. T. ii. 2. Q. 88. A. 10, but only as a subordinate case of the mor general one of dispensation.

141 **diedi le reni.** The commentators contend as to the literal or figurative application of these words, chiefly, it would appear, on the ground that Dante would not be guilty of the bad manners of turning his back on a lady. Those who take the latter view for the most part read *diede*, making **virtù** the subject of it.

CANTO V.

ARGUMENT.

Beatrice shows how no other service can compensate for the breach of religious vows, because the freedom of the will is the greatest of God's gifts. Afterwards they rise to the second heaven, of Mercury.

"If I blaze upon thee in the heat of love beyond the fashion which is seen upon earth, so that I surpass the strength of thy eyes, marvel thou not, for this proceeds from perfect vision, which as it apprehends so moves its

S' io ti fiammeggio nel caldo d' amore
Di là dal modo che in terra si vede,
Sì che degli occhi tuoi vinco il valore,
Non ti maravigliar: chè ciò procede
Da perfetto veder, che come apprende,

1-6 As we have seen already (Purg. xvii. 91 sqq., xviii. 19 sqq., etc.), apprehension or conception gives rise to love, or desire, and this is followed by action in the direction of the desired good. "Bonum est causa amoris per modum objecti; bonum autem non est objectum appetitus, nisi prout est apprehensum, et ideo amor requirit aliquam apprehensionem boni quod amatur. Et propter hoc Philosophus dicit 9. Ethic. quod visio corporalis est principium amoris sensitivi; et similiter contemplatio spiritualis pulchritudinis vel bonitatis est principium amoris spiritualis. Sic igitur cognitio est causa amoris ea ratione qua et bonum, quod non potest amari nisi cognitum." S. T. ii. 1. Q. 27.

foot towards the apprehended good. I see well how already shines in thy intellect the eternal light, which when seen, alone ever kindles love; and if aught else leads your love astray, it is nought but some vestige of that, ill-recognised, which there shines through. Thou wouldst know if with other service one may repay so much for a

Così nel bene appreso muove il piede.[a]
Io veggio ben sì come già risplende
Nello intelletto tuo l' eterna luce,
Che vista sola sempre amore accende:[b]
E s' altra cosa vostro amor seduce, 10
Non è se non di quella alcun vestigio
Mal conosciuto, che quivi traluce.
Tu vuoi saper se con altro servigio,
Per manco voto si può render tanto,

[a] *appresso* 124 *W.* [b] *vista* (*? vi sta*) *sola e sempre Gg. Cass.* 14.

A. 2. (The reference would seem to be to Eth. ix. 12: *τοῖς ἐρῶσι τὸ ὁρᾶν ἀγαπητότατόν ἐστι.*) Thus Beatrice meets Dante's desire for more knowledge with an assurance of her own perfect knowledge, which again gives rise to perfect love.

6 That **appreso** and not *appresso* is the right reading, seems clear from Mon. i. 14: primo res apprehenditur, deinde apprehensa bona aut mala judicatur.

7-9 Obviously intended to recall his words in ll. 124–126 of the last Canto.

9 Some take **vista sola** as = "only by being seen"; but besides the doubt whether the words can bear that meaning, there is the further objection that it will apply equally to all objects of desire. The emphasis is on **sempre**; God alone is the one object which is always desired when seen. There is something to be said for the reading, "vi sta sola, e sempre." Note in Gg. says: "i.e. quae lux stat in intellectu tuo sola, sine alia affectione impediente; quia intellectus auctoris erat totus depuratus, et contemplativus circa amorem divinorum."

10-12 Cf. Purg. xvi. 91, xvii. 127.

broken vow as may secure the soul from controversy." So Beatrice began this chant; and just as one who breaks not up his speech, she thus continued her sacred argument:

"The greatest gift which God of His bounty made in creating, and the most conformed to His goodness, and that which He most values, was the freedom of the will, wherewith the creatures that have intelligence all, and they only, were and are endowed. Now will

Che l' anima sicuri di litigio.
Sì cominciò Beatrice questo canto :
E sì com' uom che suo parlar non spezza,
Continuò così il processo santo.
Lo maggior don, che Dio per sua larghezza
Fesse creando, e alla sua bontate 20
Più conformato, e quel ch' ei più apprezza,
Fu della volontà la libertate,
Di che le creature intelligenti,
E tutte e sole furo e son dotate.

15 **litigio**, i.e. with God. The idea is the same as in Micah vi. 2.

18 **processo**. Cf. the "sic proceditur" of Aquinas *passim*.

19 sqq. In almost identical words, De Mon. i. 14, he says: Haec libertas (sc. arbitrii) . . . est maximum donum humanae naturae a Deo collatum; where, according to Giuliani, some too zealous scribes have added, in certain MSS., "sicut in Paradiso comediae jam dixi." See also Purg. xviii. 73. The argument in the following passage, that free-will being the greatest of human possessions, and the monastic vows being the sacrifice of this, no other sacrifice can compensate for the breach of those vows, appears to be Dante's own. No trace of it is to be found in S. T. ii. 2. Q. 88, where the subject of vows is fully discussed, and the orthodox doctrine stated; though it may have been suggested by some of the expressions in Art. 6, e.g. "suam voluntatem obligavit."

23, 24 "Solum id quod habet intellectum potest agere judicio libero . . . unde ubicunque est intellectus, ibi est liberum arbitrium." S. T. i. Q. 59. A. 3, and cf. De Mon. l.c.

appear to thee, if thou argue from this, the high worth of the vow, if it is so made that God consent when thou consentest; because, in the confirming of the pact between God and the man, a sacrifice is made of this treasure, being such as I say, and it is made by its own operation. Therefore what can be rendered for recompense? If thou thinkest to make a good use of that which has been offered, thou art desiring to make a good work of a bad gain. Now thou art informed of the chief point; but seeing that holy Church dispenses in this matter—which appears contrary to the truth that I have revealed

Or ti parrà, se tu quinci argomenti,
  L' alto valor del voto, s' è sì fatto,
  Che Dio consenta, quando tu consenti:
Chè nel fermar tra Dio e l' uomo il patto,
  Vittima fassi di questo tesoro,
  Tal qual io dico, e fassi col suo atto. 30
Dunque che render puossi per ristoro?
  Se credi bene usar quel ch' hai offerto,
  Di mal tolletto vuoi far buon lavoro.
Tu sei omai del maggior punto certo;[c]
  Ma perchè santa Chiesa in ciò dispensa,
  Che par contra lo ver ch' io t' ho scoverto,

[c] *del primo p. Gg.* 124.

30 **suo.** I.e. of the free-will itself.

33 **tolletto.** More usually *tolto.* In Inf. xi. 36 we find the form *tolletta* (according to the best reading). The *male tolte* of the Middle Ages is well known.

34 **maggior punto.** I.e. that nothing can wholly atone for the breach of a vow.

35 sqq. But how then can the Church dispense?

to thee—it behoves thee to sit yet a little longer at table, inasmuch as the hard food which thou hast taken yet requires aid to be digested by thee.

"Open thy mind to that which I set forth to thee, and shut it therewithin, for to have heard without retaining, does not make knowledge. Two things combine to the essence of this sacrifice; the one is that in respect of which it is made; the other is the agreement. This last is never cancelled, if not kept, and it is about it that my words above are so precise; for this cause the offering only was

Convienti ancor sedere un poco a mensa,
  Però chè il cibo rigido ch' hai preso,
  Richiede ancora aiuto a tua dispensa.
Apri la mente a quel ch' io ti paleso, 40
  E fermalvi entro: chè non fa scienza,
  Senza lo ritenere avere inteso.
Due cose si convengono all' essenza
  Di questo sacrificio: l' una è quella
  Di che si fa; l' altra è la convenenza.
Quest' ultima giammai non si cancella,
  Se non servata, ed intorno di lei
  Sì preciso di sopra si favella:

41, 42 Cf. Plato Phaedo 96 B and Menon 98 A.

43 sqq. The vow must be kept, though the matter may be changed; but this only on condition that what is offered in exchange be of greater value than that originally proposed. In the case of the monastic vows, as explained above, this cannot happen, and therefore, as St. Thomas (S. T. ii. 2. Q. 88. A. 11) also holds, "in voto [sc. continentiae] solennizato per professionem religionis, non potest per ecclesiam dispensari."

47 **Se non servata.** I.e. "otherwise than by being kept." **Se non** as in i. 138, etc.

made a necessity to the Hebrews, albeit some offered thing might be commuted, as thou oughtest to know. The other, which has been explained to thee as the material, can well be of such a nature that no failure should result if it be exchanged with other material. But let not any shift a burden on his shoulder without the turning both of the white key and of the yellow; and let him deem every exchange foolish if the thing laid aside be not contained in

Però necessitato fu agli Ebrei[d]
  Pur l' offerire, ancor che alcuna offerta 50
  Si permutasse, come saper dèi.
L' altra, che per materia t' è aperta,
  Puote bene esser tal che non si falla,
  Se con altra materia si converta.
Ma non trasmuti carco alla sua spalla
  Per suo arbitrio alcun, senza la volta
  E della chiave bianca e della gialla:
Ed ogni permutanza credi stolta,
  Se la cosa dimessa in la sorpresa,

[d] *necessità Gg. W.*

49 See Leviticus xxvii. for the Mosaic law on vows generally. The offerings that might be commuted were the first-born of unclean beasts and of men; see also Exodus xiii. 13. The reading *necessità* is the more satisfactory from a metrical point of view; but the weight of authority seems to be against it.

52 **materia.** I.e. "di che si fa," l. 45.

53 **falla.** This is undoubtedly a subjunctive; but if so, it cannot be, as Scartazzini supposes, from *fallare* (which appears to be used by Dante only in the sense of "to deceive"); nor, as Bianchi suggests, from "the old *fallere*," which, if it existed, would have the same meaning. There seems no difficulty in taking it as from *fallire*.

57 See note to Pg. ix. 118.

that taken up as four in six. For this cause whatsoever thing weighs so much by its own value that it drags down every balance cannot be redeemed with other expense. Let not mortals take the vow jestingly; be faithful, and not purblind in doing this, as was Jephthah at his first offering; whom it behoved rather to say 'I did ill' than in keeping his vow to do worse. So too thou mayest find the great leader of the Greeks foolish, wherefore Iphigenia

Come il quattro nel sei, non è raccolta. 60
Però qualunque cosa tanto pesa
Per suo valor, che tragga ogni bilancia,
Soddisfar non si può con altra spesa.
Non prendano i mortali il voto a ciancia;
Siate fedeli, ed a ciò far non bieci,
Come Ieptè alla sua prima mancia;[e]
Cui più si convenìa dicer: Mal feci,
Che servando far peggio: e così stolto
Ritrovar puoi lo gran duca dei Greci:
Onde pianse Ifigenia il suo bel volto, 70

[e] *come fu* 3 *Land.; fu Iepte Ald.*

60 I.e. half as great again. In Lev. xxvii. one-fifth is the addition required.

61, 62 Ecclus. xxiv. 20. Omnis autem ponderatio non est digna continentis animae.

66 The instance of Jephthah is taken from Aquinas, who quotes Jerome: "in vovendo fuit stultus, quia discretionem non habuit; et in reddendo, impius." **prima mancia** probably = "offering of the first thing," and not (as Post. Gg. has it) "filiae primogenitae."

68 It is quite in Dante's manner to parallel the act of Jephthah with a case from profane history.

70 In order to make the line scan we must pronounce the name Ifigénia according to the accent, not the quantity, of Ἰφιγένεια. This is the usual, if not invariable rule.

lamented her fair face, and made both fools and wise lament for her, when they heard tell of a rite so ordered. Christians, be you of more weight to be moved; be not like a feather to every wind; and deem not that every water may wash you. Ye have the old and the new Testament, and the pastor of the Church who guides you; let this suffice you to your salvation. If evil concupiscence cries aught else to you, be men and not senseless cattle, so that the Jew among you laugh not at you. Do not as a lamb which leaves its mother's milk, and simple and sportive fights with itself at its own pleasure."

E fe pianger di sè i folli e i savi,
Ch' udir parlar di così fatto colto.
Siate, Cristiani, a muovervi più gravi:
Non siate come penna ad ogni vento,
E non crediate ch' ogni acqua vi lavi.
Avete il vecchio e il nuovo Testamento,
E il Pastor della Chiesa che vi guida:
Questo vi basti a vostro salvamento.
Se mala cupidigia altro vi grida,
Uomini siate, e non pecore matte, 80
Sì che il Giudeo tra voi di voi non rida.[f]
Non fate come agnel, che lascia il latte
Della sua madre, e semplice e lascivo
Seco medesmo a suo piacer combatte.

[f] *di voi tra voi Cass.* 134 *W.*

71 **i folli e i savi.** There does not seem to be any special significance in this expression. It is most likely a reminiscence of the Lucretian "aspectuque suo lacrimas effundere cives."

72 **colto**, probably in allusion to Lucretius's "Tantum relligio."

73 Cf. Purg. x. 121.

81 The Jew, having only the Old Testament to guide him, yet knows what is right in the matter of vows, and does it.

Thus Beatrice to me, as I write; then she turned round all full of desire to that quarter where the universe has more life. Her hush and the change of her countenance imposed silence on my craving intellect, which already had new questions before it. And as an arrow, which strikes upon the mark before the bow-string is at rest, so sped we into the second realm. Here I saw my Lady so joyous, as she entered the light of that heaven, that the planet grew more lucent therefrom. And if the star changed itself and

Così Beatrice a me com' io scrivo:
  Poi si rivolse tutta disiante
  A quella parte, ove il mondo è più vivo.
Lo suo piacer, e il tramutar sembiante
  Poser silenzio al mio cupido ingegno,
  Che già nuove quistioni avea davante. 90
E sì come saetta, che nel segno
  Percuote pria che sia la corda queta,
  Così corremmo nel secondo regno.
Quivi la donna mia vid' io sì lieta
  Come nel lume di quel ciel si mise,
  Che più lucente se ne fe il Pianeta.

87 There is considerable diversity in the interpretation of this line. It is pretty clear that it can neither mean "towards the equator," where, as we read in Conv. ii. 4, "ha più movimento, e più vita, e più forma," nor "towards the *primo mobile*," because she could hardly "turn towards" a circle or a sphere exterior to her position. Some think it = "towards the east." Thus an Italian annotator of Gg., probably following Buti, says "cioe verso la parte orientale." The regular "postillator," who copies Benvenuto, says, "melior expositio est, i.e. ad speram mercurii, quae est vivacior spera lunae." This, which is also Giuliani's view (see note to Conv. l.c.), seems the most reasonable; only we must understand, not the sphere of Mercury, but the planet itself. In any case it only means "she looked upwards." Cf. i. 64.

93 They ascend to Mercury.

smiled, what became I who of my very nature am changeable through all fashions!

As in a stew, which is calm and clear, the fish draw to that which from without comes in such a way that they deem it their food; so did I see, ay, more than a thousand splendours draw toward us, and in each was heard, "Lo one who will increase our loves." And as each came to us, one might see that the shade was full of joy in the bright flash which issued from it. Think, reader, if that which is here begun did not advance, how thou wouldst have a tormenting want to know more; and by thyself thou wilt

E se la stella si cambiò e rise,
  Qual mi fec' io, che pur di mia natura
  Trasmutabile son per tutte guise!
Come in peschiera, ch' è tranquilla e pura, 100
  Traggono i pesci a ciò che vien di fuori,[g]
  Per modo che lo stimin lor pastura;[h]
Sì vid' io ben più di mille splendori
  Trarsi ver noi, ed in ciascun s' udìa:
  Ecco chi crescerà li nostri amori.
E sì come ciascuno a noi venìa,
  Vedeasi l' ombra piena di letizia
  Nel folgor chiaro che di lei uscìa.
Pensa, Lettor, se quel che qui s' inizia
  Non procedesse, come tu avresti 110
  Di più savere angosciosa carizia:

[g] *Traggonsi Gg. W.* 3. [h] *chello stimi sua Gg.*

105 **crescere** is noted by Corticelli among neuter verbs which are sometimes used actively; and see Diez iii. 104. Eng. *increase* is like it. This line is explained by Pg. xv. 55–57 and 71 sqq.

see how I had it in desire to hear from these their conditions, so soon as they were manifest to my eyes.

"O born to good, to whom grace is granting to see the thrones of the eternal triumph before that thy warfare is abandoned; we are kindled with the light which is spread throughout the heaven; and therefore if thou desire to be enlightened of us, sate thyself at thy pleasure."

Thus by one of those kind spirits was it said to me; and by Beatrice: "Speak, speak in safety, and trust as if in Gods."

"I see well how thou dost nestle in thy own light, and

E per te vederai, come da questi[i]
M' era in disio d' udir lor condizioni,
Sì come agli occhi mi fur manifesti.
O bene nato, a cui veder li troni
Del trionfo eternal concede grazia
Prima che la milizia s' abbandoni;
Del lume, che per tutto il ciel si spazia,
Noi semo accesi: e però se disii
Da noi chiarirti, a tuo piacer ti sazia. 120
Così da un di quelli spirti pii
Detto mi fu; e da Beatrice: Di' di'
Sicuramente, e credi come a Dii.
Io veggio ben sì come tu t' annidi
Nel proprio lume, e che da gli occhi il traggi,

[i] *E parte* 2.

116 **del trionfo eternal**: "della Chiesa trionfante," Bi.

120 There seems about equally good authority for **di** and **da**; "to be enlightened *concerning*" or "*by* us."

121 **un.** This is the Emperor Justinian.

125 **proprio.** Daniello appears to be right in explaining "nel tuo proprio splendore," though another view is that it means "in that share of the

that thou drawest it by the eyes, because they sparkle as thou smilest; but I know not who thou art, nor wherefore thou hast, O worthy soul, the rank of the sphere which veils itself from mortals with another's rays." This I said directly to the light which before had spoken to me, wherefore it became far more lucent than it had been. As the Sun, which conceals itself through excess of light, when the heat has eaten away the tempering of the thick vapours,

Perche corruscan, sì come tu ridi :[k]
Ma non so chi tu sei, nè perchè aggi,
Anima degna, il grado della spera,
Che si vela a mortai con gli altrui raggi.
Questo diss' io diritto alla lumiera, 130
Che pria m' avea parlato : ond' ella fessi
Lucente più assai di quel ch' ell' era.
Sì come il sol, che si cela egli stessi
Per troppa luce, quando il caldo ha rose
Le temperanze dei vapori spessi :

[k] *corrusca Gg. Cass. Ald.; ei corruscan W. Bi.*

divine light which is appropriate to your position in heaven." Landino in his note has *primo*, which Vellutello has adopted in his text (1544); and there is some MS. authority for it. The difference is only between pprio and prio. This of course would mean "in the light of God."

[126] Cf. ii. 144, and the opening lines of this Canto. This seems conclusive in favour of *corruscan*; though many read **e'** (sc. **lume**) **corrusca**, understanding **traggi** in the sense of "send out," as in Pg. iii. 69.

[129] Because Mercury is usually invisible from his nearness to the sun.

[133] Cf. Pg. xvii. 53. **stessi** "nel caso retto del minor numero, a somiglianza de *questi* o di *quegli*, fu usato da Dante."—Corticelli, quoting this passage. It is no doubt the genuine form, being from *iste ipse*.

[135] Cf. Pg. xxx. 26.

so for greater joy did the holy figure hide itself from me within its own ray, and thus all shut in it answered me in the manner which the following Chant chants.

Per più letizia sì mi si nascose
  Dentro al suo raggio la figura santa,
  E così chiusa chiusa mi rispose
Nel modo che il seguente canto canta.

CANTO VI.

ARGUMENT.

Justinian the Emperor recounts in brief the history of the Roman Empire, and speaks of the divisions that are troubling it. He tells Dante that in this sphere are the souls of those who have sought honour in the active life.

"AFTER that Constantine turned the eagle back against the course of the heaven, which it followed in the train of the ancient who carried off Lavinia, a hundred and a hundred years and more the bird of God abode on the confines of Europe, near to the hills from which at first it issued; and

POSCIACHÈ Costantin l' aquila volse
Contra il corso del ciel, ch' ella seguìo[a]
Dietro all' antico che Lavina tolse;
Cento e cent' anni e più l' uccel di Dio
Nello stremo d' Europa si ritenne
Vicino ai monti, dei quai prima uscìo;

[a] *che la Gg.* 2 *Ald. W.*

1 sqq. Constantine moved the seat of the Roman Empire eastward to Byzantium in 324 A.D. Justinian became emperor in 527.

3 **l' antico.** Aeneas, whom Dante, following Virgil, regards as the founder of the Roman power. De Mon. ii. 3.

6 **monti.** Those of the Troad, over against Byzantium.

under the shadow of its holy feathers it governed the world there from hand to hand, and so changing, it came upon mine. Caesar I was; and I am Justinian, that, by will of the primal Love, whom I feel, drew from among the laws the superfluous and the vain. And before I was intent on the work, I used to deem that one nature was in Christ,

E sotto l' ombra delle sacre penne,
  Governò il mondo lì di mano in mano,
  E sì cangiando in su la mia pervenne.
Cesare fui, e son Giustiniano, 10
  Che per voler del primo Amor ch' io sento,
  D' entro alle leggi trassi il troppo e il vano:
E prima ch' io all' opra fossi attento,
  Una natura in Cristo esser, non piue,

7 **penne.** Cf. Psalm xci. 4.

10 **fui—son.** The idea is the same as Pg. xix. 137.

12 With allusion to Justinian's great work, the codification of the Roman law; and the still more "arduous operation," as Gibbon says, of extracting "the spirit of jurisprudence from the decisions and conjectures, the questions and disputes, of the Roman civilians" in the Pandects. "Two thousand treatises," he continues, "were comprised in an abridgment of fifty books; and it has been carefully recorded, that three millions of lines or sentences were reduced, in this abstract, to the moderate number of one hundred and fifty thousand." (Decline and Fall, ch. xliv.) See also Justinian's own words in the Preface to the Institutes: "Cum sacratissimas constitutiones antea confusas in luculentam ereximus consonantiam, tunc nostram intendimus curam ad immensa veteris prudentiae volumina; et opus desperatum, caelesti favore jam adimplevimus."

14 sqq. It appears to have been not Justinian, but his wife Theodora who was attached to the Eutychian, or Monophysite heresy. The Emperor's own orthodoxy seems to have been unimpeachable till quite the end of his life, when he lapsed into erroneous views concerning not the nature but the person of Christ. See Gibbon (chap. xlviii.), who makes no reference to the alleged visit of Agapetus. Dante no doubt

not more; and with such faith I was content. But the blessed Agapetus, who was the chief shepherd, directed me to the untainted faith with his words. I believed him, and that which was in his faith I now see clear, just as thou seest that all contradictories are both false and true. So soon as with the Church I moved my feet, it pleased God of His

Credeva, e di tal fede era contento.
Ma il benedetto Agabito, che fue
Sommo Pastore, alla fede sincera
Mi dirizzò con le parole sue.
Io gli credetti; e ciò che in sua fede era,[b]
Veggio ora chiaro, sì come tu vedi 20
Ogni contraddizione e falsa e vera.[c]
Tosto che con la Chiesa mossi i piedi,
A Dio per grazia piacque d' inspirarmi

[b] *che suo dir Ald.; che in suo dir Giul. Bi.*
[c] *Ch' ogni contr. Gg.*

got the story from the Trésor of Brunetto Latini, who says (I quote from the Italian version of 1533): "E tutto [? fosse] al cominciamento de li errori de li heretici, al fine riconobe lo suo errore, per lo consiglio di Agabito, che al' hora era apostolico," ii. 25. He probably followed Paulus Diaconus. Agapetus was only Pope for one year, 535–6, just at the time when the Gothic power in Italy was being destroyed by Belisarius; and the story is that he was sent by Theodatus, the Gothic king, to make terms with Justinian, and so incidentally discovered and reformed the emperor's heterodox views. Ryd's "Catalogus" (1540) says: "Eundem Imperatorem (Justinianum) Agapitus i. ab *Arrianis* in Constantinopolitana Synodo, ubi mortuus est, avertit."

[16] Notice the Greek accent again in Agábito, from Ἀγάπητος.

[21] I.e. that of every pair of contradictories one must be false and the other true. Ar. Categ. ch. x.: *ὥστε ἐπὶ μόνων τούτων ἴδιον ἂν εἴη τὸ ἀεὶ θάτερον αὐτῶν ἀληθὲς ἢ ψεῦδος εἶναι, ὅσα ὡς κατάφάσις καὶ ἀπόφασις ἀντίκειται.*

[22] As a matter of fact the work was begun in the first year of his reign.

grace to inspire in me the lofty task, and I put myself wholly into it. And to my Belisarius I entrusted the wars, to whom the right hand of Heaven was so conjoined as to be a sign that my duty was to stay quiet. Here then my reply to the first question reaches its point; but its circumstances constrain me to pursue some addition to it. In order that thou mayest perceive by how clear a proof he moves against the most holy ensign, both who claims it for his own, and who opposes himself to it, see how great virtue hath made it worthy of reverence; and I begin from the hour when

L' alto lavoro, e tutto in lui mi diedi.
E al mio Bellisar commendai l' armi,
Cui la destra del Ciel fu sì congiunta,
Che segno fu ch' io dovessi posarmi.
Or qui alla quistion prima s' appunta
La mia risposta, ma sua condizione
Mi stringe a seguitare alcuna giunta. 30
Perchè tu veggi con quanta ragione
Si muove contra il sacrosanto segno
E chi 'l s' appropria, e chi a lui s' oppone,
Vedi quanta virtù l' ha fatto degno
Di reverenza; e comincio dall' ora,

[28] **quistion prima**, i.e., "chi tu sei," v. 127.

[31] **con quanta ragione.** This is usually taken to mean, "with how much reason" or "right," as in iv. 20. I have preferred to take it as (e.g.) in Inf. xi. 33, because the other rendering assumes what has to be proved, viz. that **chi 'l s' appropria** (the Ghibeline) is acting against the sanctity of the empire quite as much as **chi s' oppone** (the Guelf). I have also ventured slightly to alter the usual punctuation, by putting a full stop at **giunta**, and a comma at **oppone.** Observe that this passage alone upsets the ordinary notion of Dante as a Ghibeline partisan.

Pallas died to give it a kingdom. Thou knowest that it made in Alba its dwelling-place for three hundred years and more, until the end when the three fought the three, for its sake still. Thou knowest what it did from the wrong of the Sabine women up to the woe of Lucretia, in seven kings, conquering the neighbour folk around. Thou knowest what it did, borne by the illustrious Romans to meet Brennus, to meet Pyrrhus, to meet the other kings and commonwealths; whence Torquatus and Quinctius

Che Pallante morì per darli regno.
Tu sai ch' ei fece in Alba sua dimora[d]
Per trecent' anni ed oltre, infino al fine,
Che i tre ai tre pugnar per lui ancora.[e]
Sai quel che fe dal mal delle Sabine 40
Al dolor di Lucrezia in sette regi,
Vincendo intorno le genti vicine.
Sai quel che fe, portato dagli egregi
Romani incontro a Brenno, incontro a Pirro,
E contro agli altri principi e collegi:
Onde Torquato, e Quintio, che dal cirro

[d] *sua gran d. Gg.* [e] *tre a tre Cass. Ald.; tre e tre Gg.* 2.

36 Because the death of Pallas led to that of Turnus (Aen. xii. 948), and so to the possession by Aeneas of Lavinia and the Latin kingdom. See De Mon. ii. 10.

37 **ei**, i.e. the eagle, "il sacrosanto segno."

38 The Horatii and Curiatii, Livy i. 25, where the last Horatius is made to say to the last Curiatius, "duos fratrum manibus dedi, tertium causae belli hujusce, *ut Romanus Albano imperet*, dabo." Until this event, Alba represented so to speak the elder branch of the line founded by Aeneas. See again De Mon. ii. 10, the whole of which chapter, together with Conv. iv. 5, forms the best commentary on this Canto. The instances given in the following lines are mostly too well known to require reference or explanation.

who was named from his neglected locks, and Decii and Fabii had the fame which I with good will embalm. It brought to earth the pride of the Arabs, who in Hannibal's train passed the Alpine cliffs, whence thou, Po, glidest. Under it in their youth triumphed Scipio and Pompey, and to that hill beneath which thou wast born, it appeared harsh. Afterwards, hard upon the time when the heaven wholly willed to bring back the world to its tranquil order, Caesar by the will of Rome bare it; and what it

Negletto fu nomato, e Deci, e Fabi
Ebber la fama, che volentier mirro.
Esso atterrò l' orgoglio degli Arabi,
Che diretro ad Annibale passaro 50
L' alpestre rocce, Pò, di che tu labi.
Sott' esso giovanetti trionfaro
Scipione e Pompeo, ed a quel colle,
Sotto il qual tu nascesti, parve amaro.
Poi presso al tempo, che tutto il Ciel volle
Ridur lo mondo a suo modo sereno,
Cesare per voler di Roma il tolle:

53 **colle**, i.e. Fiesole, "quae civitas est prope florentiam ad quam confugit Catilina pulsus ex urbe propter conjurationem quam fecerat per invadendam rempublicam, qui in agro pistoriensi postea prostratus est cum suis et civitas fesularum destructa."—Comm. Gg. The destruction of Faesulae is mentioned by Brunetto, Trésor i. 37, and by Villani i. 37; but Cicero and Sallust do not appear to know anything of it.

55, 56 "Poichè esso cielo cominciò a girare, in migliore disposizione non fu, che allora quando discese Colui che l' ha fatto e che 'l governa . . . e però pace universale era per tutto."—Conv. l.c.

57 **tolle** must be formed directly from *tulit* (not, as Scart. suggests, "da *tollere* per *togliere*") because a perfect is clearly wanted.

did from Var even unto Rhine, Isère saw and Saône, and Seine saw, and every dale from which the Rhone is filled. That which it did after he issued from Ravenna and leapt the Rubicon, was of such a flight that neither tongue nor pen would follow it. Toward Spain it turned back its array, then to Dyrrhachium, and smote Pharsalia so that to the hot Nile they were aware of the smart. It saw again Antandros and Simois whence it started, and the place where Hector lies; and to the hurt of Ptolemy

E quel che fe da Varo insino al Reno,
  Isara vide ed Era, e vide Senna,
  Ed ogni valle onde il Rodano è pieno. 60
Quel che fe poi ch' egli uscì di Ravenna,
  E saltò il Rubicon, fu di tal volo,
  Che nol seguiteria lingua nè penna.
In ver la Spagna rivolse lo stuolo:
  Poi ver Durazzo e Farsaglia percosse
  Sì ch' al Nil caldo sentissi del duolo.[f]
Antandro e Simoenta onde si mosse,
  Rivide, e là dove Ettore si cuba,
  E mal per Tolommeo poi si riscosse.

[f] *che il Nil Gg.*

59 **Era,** i.e. Araris. These three lines allude, of course, to Caesar's campaigns in Gaul.

64 Cf. Purg. xviii. 102.

67 That is, the Troad, whence Dante has already said that the Roman eagle took its origin. He is probably thinking of Lucan ix. 961 sqq.

"Sigeasque petit famae mirator arenas,
Et Simoentis aquas, et Graio nobile busto
Rhoetion, et multum debentes vatibus umbras.
Circuit exustae nomen venerabile Trojae.
. . . . . Phryx incola manes
Hectoreos calcare vetat."

thereafter it aroused itself; whence it came in lightning to Juba; then it turned back into your west, where it heard the Pompeian trumpet. Of what it did in the company of its next bearer, Brutus with Cassius howls in Hell, and Modena and Perugia were brought to woe. Still weeps for its cause the sad Cleopatra, who flying before it received from the viper her death sudden and dark. With this one it sped even to the Red shore; with this one it laid the earth in such a peace that Janus

Da onde venne folgorando a Giuba; 70
  Poi si rivolse nel vostro occidente,[g]
  Dove sentìa la Pompeiana tuba.
Di quel che fe col baiulo seguente,
  Bruto con Cassio nello inferno latra,
  E Modona e Perugia fu dolente.
Piangene ancor la trista Cleopatra,
  Che, fuggendogli innanzi, dal colubro
  La morte prese subitana ed atra.
Con costui corse insino al lito rubro;
  Con costui pose il mondo in tanta pace, 80
  Che fu serrato a Giano il suo delubro.

[g] *Onde si volse Gg.* 124; *poscia si v. W.*

71 **vostro.** Because Justinian, an Eastern emperor, is speaking to the Italian Dante. He alludes to the battle of Munda.

73 **bajulo seguente.** Augustus.

74 Inf. xxxiv. 64 sqq. Some object to this rendering of **latra,** that Brutus is expressly stated "non far motto." The older commentators do not appear to have noticed the difficulty, though P. di Dante says "latrant, idest attestantur." But it seems simpler to suppose that here, as in Purg. xxii. 113, Dante has forgotten an earlier detail.

79 **lito rubro,** i.e. the uttermost parts of Egypt. Probably suggested, as Scartazzini notes, by Aeneid viii. 686; though the reference there is to Antony.

had his shrine locked up. But that which the ensign which makes me speak had done before and after was about to do through the mortal realm which is subject to it, becomes in appearance little and obscure, if it be looked at in the third Caesar's hand with clear eye and pure affection; for the living justice which inspires me granted to it, in the hand of him whom I say, the glory of working vengeance for his wrath. Here then wonder

Ma ciò che il segno che parlar mi face,
  Fatto avea prima, e poi era fatturo
  Per lo regno mortal ch' a lui soggiace,
Diventa in apparenza poco e scuro,
  Se in mano al terzo Cesare si mira,
  Con occhio chiaro e con affetto puro:
Chè la viva giustizia che mi spira,
  Gli concedette, in mano a quel ch' io dico,
  Gloria di far vendetta alla sua ira. 90
Or qui t' ammira in ciò ch' io ti replico:

[86] **terzo Cesare.** Tiberius, under whom Christ was crucified. The argument is that of De Mon. ii. 11: Si romanum imperium de jure non fuit, peccatum Adae in Christo non fuit punitum. . . . Si ergo sub ordinario judice Christus passus non fuisset, illa poena punitio non fuisset; et judex ordinarius esse non poterat, nisi supra totum humanum genus jurisdictionem habens. . . . Et supra totum humanum genus Tiberius Caesar, cujus vicarius erat Pilatus, jurisdictionem non habuisset, nisi romanum imperium de jure fuisset.

[91] **replico.** I have followed the usual rendering, which however is not quite satisfactory, for Justinian is not repeating anything that he has said. "Unfold" might do; but I am inclined to think that there is a special allusion, appropriate to the speaker, marked by the use of the word here, and here only in the whole poem. In the terms of Roman law the statement of the plaintiff's case as sent by the magistrate to the judge, was *intentio.* If the defendant pleaded special circumstances which made the general rule of law under which the case would naturally fall

thou in that which I repeat to thee: afterwards with Titus it sped to work vengeance for the vengeance of the ancient sin.

"And when the Lombard tooth bit the Holy Church, under its wings great Charles conquering succoured her.

"Now then thou canst judge of the men of that sort whom I accused above, and of their faults, which are the

Poscia con Tito a far vendetta corse
Della vendetta del peccato antico.
E quando il dente Longobardo morse
La santa Chiesa, sotto alle sue ali
Carlo Magno, vincendo, la soccorse.[h]
Omai puoi giudicar di quei cotali,
Ch' io accusai di sopra, e dei lor falli,

[h] *Karlo mano* 2.

inapplicable, his plea was called *exceptio*. If the plaintiff answered, this was *replicatio*, "quia per eam replicatur et resolvitur jus exceptionis." (See Justinian Institutes, ed. Sandars, 1874, pp. lxvii., 477.) Here we have a pretty close parallel, which is set out more fully in the next Canto, ll. 40–51. God has a controversy with the Jews for the death of Christ. The plea in answer is that this was the appointed atonement for man's fall. The *replicatio*, enforced by the punishment of the Jews at the hands of Titus, would be that this in no way affected their guilt in crucifying an innocent person.

92, 93 The destruction of Jerusalem by Titus was the vengeance upon the Jews for the crucifixion of Christ, whereby Adam's sin was avenged.

94 "Morto Telofre, Desiderio suo figliuolo succedette a lui, il quale maggiormente che il padre fu nemico e persecutore di Santa Chiesa. . . . Per la qual cosa Adriano papa che allora governava Santa Chiesa, mandò in Francia per Carlo Magno figliuolo di Pipino che venisse in Italia a difendere la Chiesa dal detto Desiderio e da' suoi segnaci." —Villani ii. 13. It is referred to in De Mon. iii. 10.

96 I have rendered **Carlo Magno** by "Charles the Great" in deference to established usage. At the same time I have little doubt that originally

occasion of all your ills. The one to the public ensign opposes the yellow lilies, and the other appropriates it to a party, so that it is hard to see which errs the most. Let the Ghibelines work, let them work their arts under another ensign, for he ever follows that amiss, who separates justice

Che son cagion di tutti i vostri mali.
L' uno al pubblico segno i gigli gialli 100
Oppone, e l' altro appropria quello a parte,
Sì ch' è forte a veder chi più si falli.[i]
Faccian gli Ghibellin, faccian lor arte
Sott' altro segno ; chè mal segue quello
Sempre chi la giustizia e lui diparte :

[i] *forte è veder Gg. ; f. a v. è chi più f. W.*

it was no more than an Italian corruption of "Carloman," probably from a confusion with his brother of that name, if indeed the names were "differentiated" thus early. It is to be observed that Villani calls Carloman, son of Louis the Stammerer, equally Carlo Magno. At the same time the notion of "magnus" must have come in very early, for King Magnus the Good, from whom the name has become popular in Scandinavia, was named after the emperor, and he was born in 1024. (See St. Olaf's Saga, ch. 131, where the king is puzzled by the name : "that is no name in our family." Sighvat the priest says: "I called him after King Karlamagnus ; him I knew for the best man in the world.")

100 **i gigli gialli.** I.e. the golden *fleurs de lys* of France, or as the note in Gg. has it, "insignia regis francie et Karoli veteris, quae sunt lilia citrina cum rastello desuper." "The elder Charles" of this note is of course Charles of Anjou, who, after his coming into Italy, was the mainstay of the Guelf party, so that they are said to oppose the *fleurs de lys* to the eagle. Their regular ensign, however, as Villani tells us (vii. 2), was "il campo bianco con una aguglia vermiglia in su uno serpente verde," being the arms of Clement IV. To this they added "uno giglietto vermiglio sopra il capo dell' aquila."

101 **l' altro,** the Ghibelines, who turned the imperial eagle into the standard of a party.

and it. Nor let this new Charles beat it down with his Guelfs, but let him have a fear of the talons that have dragged the hide from a more exalted lion. Many times ere now have the sons wept for the father's sin, and let him not deem that God is changing His arms for his lilies.

"This little star is furnished with the good spirits who

E non l' abbatta esto Carlo novello
Coi Guelfi suoi, ma tema degli artigli,
Ch' a più alto leon trasser lo vello.
Molte fiate già pianser li figli
Per la colpa del padre: e non si creda, 110
Che Dio trasmuti l' armi per suoi gigli.
Questa picciola stella si correda
Dei buoni spirti, che son stati attivi,

[106] **esto Carlo.** Charles II. of Apulia, son of Charles of Anjou, who was reigning in 1300. See Purg. xx. 79, and Par. xix. 127. With all deference to Herr Witte there can be no allusion to Charles of Valois, who had not come at the time when Justinian is supposed to be speaking. The word **esto** alone precludes this idea.

[108] **più alto leon.** Possibly the allusion is only to the various exploits of the eagle mentioned above; but Dante may have more specially intended to refer to the defeats which Charles of Anjou suffered in his later years, e.g. at the hands of Roger di Loria before Messina in 1282. It is clear that Dante had a great respect for the elder Charles personally.

[110] **si creda.** Witte treats this as impersonal, "let it not be thought"; but in that case "suoi" becomes intolerably harsh, lax as are the modern languages in their use of the reflexive pronoun. There is no difficulty in taking **si** as pleonastic. I have followed Bianchi and Philalethes.

[111] **armi** is the reading of nearly all MSS., and all the early edd. Land. and Dan. read *arme*, and Witte and Giuliani follow them. The meaning is obviously "armorial bearings," though Buti and Vell. seem to take it as "weapons." Probably the two forms were not distinguished in Dante's time.

have been active in order that honour and fame might fall to them. And when the desires rest here, thus going astray, it is meet that the rays of the true love should rest thereupon with less of life. But in the proportioning of our wages with our desert, is a portion of our joy, because we see them to be not too small nor too great. Hence the living justice makes our affection sweet within us, so that it can never be wrested to any unrighteousness. Divers voices make sweet notes: thus divers tiers in our life render a sweet harmony among these spheres.

"And within this present pearl shines the light of Romeo,

Perchè onore e fama gli succeda:
E quando li desiri poggian quivi,
Sì disviando, pur convien che i raggi
Del vero amore in su poggin men vivi.
Ma nel commensurar dei nòstri gaggi
Col merto, è parte di nostra letizia,
Perchè non li vedem minor nè maggi. 120
Quinci addolcisce la viva giustizia
In noi l' affetto sì, che non si puote
Torcer giammai ad alcuna nequizia.
Diverse voci fanno dolci note:[k]
Così diversi scanni in nostra vita
Rendon dolce armonia tra queste ruote.[l]
E dentro alla presente margherita
Luce la luce di Romeo, di cui

[k] *fan diverse n. Gg.* [l] *in queste Gg.* 3.

115 As elsewhere, the active life is regarded as inferior to the contemplative. See for instance Conv. ii. 5.

127 **margherita.** So ii. 34.

128 **Romeo** is not strictly a proper name, but merely signifies one who has been on a pilgrimage to Rome, as explained in V. N. § 41.

whose work, great and fair, was ill-received. But they of Provence who wrought against him have no laughter; and so he goes an ill road who makes his own hurt from the prospering of another. Four daughters, and each one a queen, had Raymond Berenger; and this did Romeo for him, a humble person and a stranger. And afterward slanderous words moved him to demand an account from this just man, who assigned to him seven and five for ten. Thence he departed poor and old; and if the world knew

Fu l' opra grande e bella mal gradita.
Ma i Provenzali, che fer contra lui, 130
Non hanno riso: e però mal cammina,
Qual si fa danno del ben far d' altrui.
Quattro figlie ebbe, e ciascuna reina
Ramondo Berlinghieri, e ciò gli fece
Romeo persona umile e peregrina:
E poi il mosser le parole biece
A dimandar ragione a questo giusto,
Che gli assegnò sette e cinque per diece.
Indi partissi povero e vetusto:

Thence it seems to have acquired a wider signification, as Villani tells us (vi. 90) that this particular Romeo fell in with Count Raymond on his way from Galicia, i.e. Compostella. It seems very uncertain whether his real name has been preserved, though one account speaks of him as *named* Romée.

133 The four daughters of Raymond Berenger IV., Count of Provence, were married to Lewis IX., Henry III. of England, his brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall and King of the Romans, and Charles of Anjou, brother of Lewis, and afterwards King of Apulia. See Purg. xx. 61. Villani, l.c., tells the story of Romeo's share in bringing about these marriages, and his subsequent disgrace through the jealousy of the lords of Provence, in words very similar to Dante's.

the heart which he had as he begged his living morsel by morsel—much it praises him—and it would praise him more."

E se il mondo sapesse il cuor, ch' egli ebbe, 140
Mendicando sua vita a frusto a frusto,
Assai lo loda, e più lo loderebbe.

CANTO VII.

ARGUMENT.

Dante, moved by certain words of Justinian, is in doubt concerning God's justice, as displayed in the Redemption of mankind through the Passion of our Lord Christ. Beatrice resolves this doubt; and another concerning the dissolution of the elements.

"*Hosanna, sanctus Deus Sabaoth, superillustrans claritate tua felices ignes horum malahoth!*" So, returning to its song, this substance was seen by me to chant, upon

> *Osanna Sanctus Deus Sabaoth,*
> *Superillustrans claritate tua*
> *Felices ignes horum malahoth:*[a]
> Così volgendosi alla nota sua
> Fu viso a me cantare essa sustanza,

[a] *malaoth Cass. Ġg.* 14; *malcaoth* 2; *malachoth* 3; *-coth W.*

1-3 "Hosanna, holy God of hosts, beaming in Thy brightness over the blessed fires of these realms." *Hosanna* and *Sabaoth* are familiar words; *malahoth* appears to have been taken by Dante from St. Jerome's preface to the Vulgate, where he says that the "books of Kings" are better called "Melachim, id est Regum, quam Malachoth (al. Mamlachoth) id est Regnorum." See Witte, Dante-Forschungen, vol. ii. p. 43. This makes other interpretations, such as that Dante meant "works" or "hosts" (Philal.) or "angels," superfluous.

5 Literally "it was seen by me that this substance was chanting." For this impersonal use of **viso** see Diez iii. 182. **sustanza,** i.e. the soul of Justinian. See note to Purg. xviii. 49.

which a twofold glory is paired; and it and the others moved to their dance, and like swiftest sparks veiled themselves from me by sudden retreat. I was in doubt, and began to say "Tell her, tell her," within myself: "Tell her" I was saying—namely to my Lady who slakes me with her gentle dews; but that reverence which has the mastery of me wholly, even for B E and for I C E, was swaying me like a man who is going to sleep. A short while Beatrice endured me in that guise; and began,

Sopra la qual doppio lume s' addua:
Ed essa e l' altre mossero a sua danza,[b]
E quasi velocissime faville,
Mi si velar di subita distanza.
Io dubitava, e dicea: Dille dille, 10
Fra me, dille, diceva, alla mia donna,
Che mi disseta con le dolci stille:
Ma quella reverenza, che s' indonna
Di tutto me, pur per BE e per ICE,
Mi richinava come l' uom ch' assonna.[c]
Poco sofferse me cotal Beatrice,

[b] *mesero Gg.* [c] *richiamava Gg.* 134.

6 **s' addua.** Daniello takes this as merely a reference to v. 132; but in that case an imperfect would seem to be required, and it is better to understand it, with most commentators, as an allusion to Justinian's twofold glory of emperor and lawgiver. Scartazzini quotes his own words, from the preface to the Institutes, "imperatoriam majestatem non solum armis decoratam, sed etiam legibus oportet esse armatam."

8 The allusion seems to be to Wisd. iii. 7, where the Vulgate has "fulgebunt justi et tanquam scintillae in arundineto discurrent."

12 Is. xlv. 8: "Rorate caeli desuper, et nubes pluant justum . . . et justitia oriatur simul."

14 I.e. for every part of the name of Beatrice.

15 **assonnare** intrans. Cf. Purg. xxxii. 64, 69.

16 **Poco sofferse.** Cf. Purg. xxxi. 10.

beaming on me with such a smile that in the fire it would make a man happy:

"According to my unerring judgment how a just vengeance should have been justly punished has set thee on thought. But I will quickly set loose thy mind; and do thou listen, for my words shall make thee a gift of a great doctrine. For not enduring to the faculty that wills

E cominciò, raggiandomi d' un riso,
Tal che nel fuoco faria l' uom felice:
Secondo mio infallibile avviso,
Come giusta vendetta giustamente 20
Punita fosse, t' ha in pensier miso;[d]
Ma io ti solverò tosto la mente,
E tu ascolta, che le mie parole
Di gran sentenzia ti faran presente.
Per non soffrire alla virtù che vuole

[d] *Vengiata W.* (and some MSS.); *t' hai Ald.*

[18] Cf. Purg. xxvii. 52.

[20 sqq.] Dante's doubt, arising from Justinian's words in vi. 92, 93, is how both the crucifixion of Christ, and the punishment of the Jews for their share in it, could be equally just. Beatrice replies that *quâ* man, Christ suffered justly; *quâ* God, unjustly. So Aquinas, S. T. iii. Q. 47. A. 4. 2: Passio Christi fuit sacrificii oblatio, inquantum Christus propria voluntate mortem sustinuit ex charitate. Inquantum autem a persecutoribus est passus, non fuit sacrificium, sed peccatum gravissimum.

[25] Cf. Purg. xxix. 27. Adam's sin arose from pride (S. T. ii. 2. Q. 163. A. 1: Prima inordinatio appetitus humani fuit ex hoc quod aliquod bonum spirituale inordinate appetiit. Non autem inordinate appetiisset, appetendo id secundum suam mensuram ex divina regula praestitutam. Unde relinquitur quod primum peccatum hominis fuit in hoc quod appetiit aliquod spirituale bonum supra suam; id quod pertinet ad superbiam); and it concerned the will, **la virtù che vuole** (S. T. ii. 1. Q. 83. A. 3: peccatum originale per prius respicit voluntatem . . . quia voluntas est propinquior essentiae animae tanquam superior potentia, primo pervenit ad ipsam infectio originalis peccati).

any bridle, for its own advantage, that man who was never born, in damning himself, damned all his progeny; wherefore the human kind lay sick below for many ages, in great error, until it pleased the Word of God to descend where He united to Himself, in person, the nature which had drawn away from its Maker, with the sole act of His eternal love. Now direct thy gaze to the subject of our

Freno a suo prode, quell' uom che non nacque
Dannando sè, dannò tutta sua prole:
Onde l' umana spezie inferma giacque
Giù per secoli molti in grande errore,
Fin ch' al Verbo di Dio di scender piacque, 30
U' la natura, che dal suo Fattore[e]
S' era allungata, unìo a sè in persona,
Con l' atto sol del suo eterno amore.
Or drizza il viso a quel che si ragiona;

[e] *Ella n. Gg.*

30-33 S. T. iii. Q. 2. AA. 1 & 2 contain the doctrine of the union of the Word incarnate; and whoever wishes thoroughly to understand the doctrine, must be referred to those Articles. For the present purpose it will be sufficient to quote from A. 2 (1): Quia natura humana sic unitur Verbo, ut Verbum in ea subsistat, non autem ut aliquid addatur ei ad rationem suae naturae, vel ut ejus natura in aliud transmutetur; ideo unio humanae naturae ad Verbum Dei facta est in persona, non in natura.—(It may not be out of place to notice here how "Verbum," "Word," is a very inadequate rendering of the Λόγος of St. John. The term is clearly derived from the Aristotelian metaphysic. Thus we find the "formal cause" is ὁ λόγος τῆς οὐσίας, which is practically the same as the "final cause," τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα ὡς τέλος, while the statement ἀρχὴ ὁ λόγος suggests the ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, or "efficient cause," the "Motor primo" of Purg. xxv. 70, and seems to explain the οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ . . . πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο in the opening passage of the fourth Gospel.)

reasoning. This nature, united to its Maker, as it was at its creation was untainted and good. But through itself alone was it banished from Paradise, inasmuch as it turned itself aside from the way of truth and from its life. The penalty then which the cross offered, if it be measured according to the nature assumed,—none ever bit so justly; and likewise none was of so great injustice, looking to the Person who suffered, in whom such nature was bound up. Wherefore from one act divers things issued; for to God

Questa natura al suo Fattore unita,
Qual fu creata, fu sincera e buona:[f]
Ma per sè stessa pur fu ella sbandita[g]
Di Paradiso, perocchè si torse
Da via di verità e da sua vita.[h]
La pena dunque che la croce porse, 40
S' alla natura assunta si misura,
Nulla giammai sì giustamente morse:
E così nulla fu di tanta ingiura,
Guardando alla persona, che sofferse,
In che era contratta tal natura.
Però d' un atto uscir cose diverse;
Ch' a Dio ed ai Giudei piacque una morte;

[f] *perfetta e buona Gg.* [g] *stessa fu* 3 *W.; fu isbandita al.*
[h] *di via . . . di sua* 145.

39 There is something to be said for the reading suggested by Lombardi, *da verità*, or that found in some MSS. *di — di — e di*, as pointing more directly to "the Way, the Truth, and the Life."

41 S. T. iii. Q. 47. A. 1: Filius Dei humanam naturam integram assumpsit. And see QQ. 5, 6, *passim*. Observe the distinction between **natura** and (l. 44) **persona**. Boethius, de Pers. et Nat. iii.: Persona est naturae rationalis individua substantia.

47 S. T. iii. Q. 47. A. 3: Pater tradidit Christum ex charitate . . . Judaei autem ex invidia.

and to the Jews one death was pleasing; on its account the earth shook and heaven was opened. Henceforward it should no more seem a great thing to thee, when it is said that a just vengeance was afterward avenged by a just tribunal.

"But I see now thy mind restrained, by sequence of thoughts, within a knot of which with great desire a solution is awaited. Thou sayest: I well perceive that which I hear; but why God willed for our redemption just this

Per lei tremò la terra, e il Ciel s' aperse.
Non ti dee oramai parer più forte,
Quando si dice, che giusta vendetta 50
Poscia vengiata fu da giusta corte.
Ma io veggi' or la tua mente ristretta
Di pensier in pensier dentro ad un nodo,
Del qual con gran disio solver s' aspetta.
Tu dici, Ben discerno ciò ch' io odo:
Ma perchè Dio volesse, m' è occulto,

56 sqq. St. Thomas, S. T. iii. Q. 46. AA. 1, 2, 3, discusses the questions, "Utrum fuit necessarium Christum pati pro liberatione humani generis," "Utrum fuerit alius modus possibilis liberationis humanae quam per passionem Christi," and "Utrum fuerit aliquis modus convenientior ad liberationem humani generis quam per passionem Christi." The gist of his decision on the third of these, which is the one more directly handled here, is as follows: Tanto aliquis modus convenientior est ad assequendum finem quanto per ipsum plura concurrunt quae sunt expedientia fini; and he goes on to show that this condition was satisfied by the passion of Christ, since from it man obtained a knowledge of the extent of God's love, an example of obedience, humility, constancy, justice, and other virtues, and deliverance from sin, together with justifying grace and the desert of blessedness; and further, became the more bound to keep himself pure from sin, while human nature gained in dignity. This is somewhat expanded by Beatrice in the present passage. She begins as usual from God's

method, is hidden from me. This decree, brother, remains buried to the eyes of him whose wit is not full-grown in the flame of love. Nevertheless since at this mark one may gaze long and discern little, I will tell why such a method was most worthy. The divine Goodness which

A nostra redenzion pur questo modo.
Questo decreto, frate, sta sepulto
Agli occhi di ciascuno, il cui ingegno
Nella fiamma d' amor non è adulto. 60
Veramente, però ch' a questo segno
Molto si mira e poco si discerne,
Dirò perchè tal modo fu più degno.
La divina bontà, che da sè sperne

attribute of love, with which, as in Canto v., knowledge is bound up (l. 66). Man's soul, as the immediate creation of God's love, has the special gifts of immortality, liberty, and likeness to God (cf. 2 Cor. v. 5, and iii. 17, 18). Now sin destroys the two last ("Homo peccando . . . decidit a dignitate humana . . . et incidit quodammodo in servitutem bestiarum," S. T. ii. 2. Q. 64. A. 2; "Actus peccati facit distantiam a Deo; quam quidem distantiam sequitur defectus nitoris hoc modo, sicut motus localis facit localem distantiam," ii. 1. Q. 87. A. 2), and therefore also the first. Nor can this be regained, save by a penalty equivalent to the offence. But man was not capable of paying such a penalty ("quando natura est integra, per seipsam potest reparari ad id quod est sibi conveniens et proportionatum; sed ad id quod excedit suam proportionem reparari non potest sine exteriori auxilio. Sic igitur humana natura defluens per peccatum, quia non manet integra, sed corrumpitur, non potest per seipsam reparari," S. T. ii. 1. Q. 109. A. 7), and free remission was not expedient, as being a less evident manifestation of God's love (see passage quoted above). Thus the incarnation and passion of Christ were necessary.

64, 65 **da sè sperne ogni livore.** Quoted from Boethius, Cons. Phil. iii. Metr. 9, "insita summi forma boni, livore carens," which again is from Plato, Timaeus 29 E.: *ἀγαθὸς ἦν [ὁ ξυνιστὰς], ἀγαθῷ δε οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδένος οὐδέποτε ἐγγίγνεται φθόνος.*

spurns from Itself all envy, burning in Itself so sparkles that It displays Its eternal beauties. That which from It immediately distils has no end thereafter, because when It seals, Its impress is unmoved. That which from It immediately showers is wholly free, because it is not subject to the power of new things. The more conformable it is to It the more pleasing it is therefore; for the holy heat which irradiates everything, is most lively in that which has most

Ogni livore, ardendo in sè sfavilla,[i]
Sì che dispiega le bellezze eterne.
Ciò che da lei senza mezzo distilla,
Non ha poi fine, perchè non si muove[k]
La sua imprenta, quand' ella sigilla.[l]
Ciò che da essa senza mezzo piove, 70
Libero è tutto, perchè non soggiace
Alla virtute delle cose nuove.
Più l' è conforme, e però più le piace:
Che l' ardor santo, ch' ogni cosa raggia,
Nella più simigliante è più vivace.

[i] *scintilla W.* [k] *più fine Gg.; puo fine* 2.
[l] *impronta Gg.* 2.

67 Conv. iii. 14 (see note to xiii. 59).

68, 69 Cf. Ps. iv. 7: Signatum est super nos lumen vultus tui, Domine.

72 **cose nuove.** We must understand **cose** here in its primary sense of "causes." The **cose nuove** are "second causes," i.e. the heavenly bodies and the elements. S. T. ii. 1. Q. 19. A. 4: in omnibus causis ordinatis, effectus plus dependet a causa prima, quam a causa secunda; quia causa secunda non agit nisi in virtute primae causae. These, as being created later, are **nuove**. Cf. S. T. i. Q. 116. A. 4: Signa sunt quae immediate a Deo fiunt; cum non subdantur secundis causis, non subduntur fato.

73 **e** must, I think, be taken as in Purg. iv. 90. This, though not usual in Italian, is common in the cognate languages. Diez iii. 365.

resemblance. Of all these things the human creature has the advantage; and if one fails, needs must he fall from his nobility. Sin alone is that which disfranchises him, and makes him unlike to the highest Good, because from Its light he is too little illumined; and to his own dignity he never comes back, if he does not replenish where sin empties, with just pains against evil enjoyment. Your nature, when it all sinned in its seed, was removed from these dignities as from Paradise; nor could it recover them,

Di tutte queste cose s' avvantaggia
  L' umana creatura, e s' una manca,
  Di sua nobilità convien che caggia.
Solo il peccato è quel che la disfranca,
  E falla dissimile al Sommo Bene, 80
  Perchè del lume suo poco s' imbianca;
Ed in sua dignità mai non riviene,
  Se non riempie dove colpa vota,
  Contra mal dilettar con giuste pene.
Vostra natura quando peccò tota
  Nel seme suo, da queste dignitadi,
  Come da Paradiso fu remota:
Nè ricovrar poteasi, se tu badi

85 sqq. Cf. Scotus Erigena, de Div. Nat. v. 36: Excepto humanitatis Redemptore omnes homines peccaverunt, quod etiam naturae attribuitur, ejusque peccatum dicitur; non quod ipsa natura ad imaginem Dei facta illud commiserit, sed quod liberae voluntatis, quae a Deo data est, rationabili bono irrationabilis abusio, et in amorem sensibilium conversio ipsam naturae pulcritudinem . . . dissimulavit, propriamque dignitatem abscondit.

86 **seme**, i.e. Adam. Ἔστι γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα διχῶς, ἐξ οὗ τε, καὶ οὗ· καὶ γὰρ ἀφ' οὗ ἀπῆλθε, τούτου σπέρμα.—Ar. Part. An. i. 6.

88 Or "be recovered." We might perhaps read *poteansi.*

if thou look right subtilly, by any way without passing through some one of these roads; either that God alone of His clemency should have put away, or that man should have made satisfaction for his folly. Fix now thine eye within the abyss of the eternal counsel, applied as straitly to my speech as thou art able. Man could never within his own limits make satisfaction, because he could not descend in humility by subsequent obedience, so far as by disobeying he aimed to rise; and this is the reason why man was shut off from the power of making satisfaction by himself. Therefore it became God with His own paths to

Ben sottilmente, per alcuna via,
Senza passar per un di questi guadi :[m] 90
O che Dio solo per sua cortesia
Dimesso avesse, o che l' uom per sè isso
Avesse satisfatto a sua follia.
Ficca mo l' occhio perentro l' abisso
Dell' eterno consiglio, quanto puoi
Al mio parlar distrettamente fisso.[n]
Non potea l' uomo nei termini suoi
Mai satisfar, per non potere ir giuso
Con umiltate, obbediendo poi,
Quando disubbidendo intese ir suso: 100
E questa è la ragion, perchè l' uom fue
Da poter satisfar per sè dischiuso.
Dunque a Dio convenìa con le vie sue

[m] *gradi Gg.* 1234. [n] *discretamente Ald.*

96 If we read *discretamente*, we must say "with discernment."

98-100 "Perciochè l'altezza di Dio è infinita; ma nessuna bassezza si trova che non sia finita."—Land. The allusion is to Gen. iii. 5.

103 **vie.** I.e. mercy and justice. Ps. xxiv. 10 (Vulg.). See also S. T. i. Q. 21. A. 4. Aquinas gives the verse, "Omnes (Vulg.

restore man to his perfect life; I say with one, or indeed with both. But whereas the worker's work is the more acceptable in measure as it represents more of the goodness of the heart whence it has issued, the Divine goodness, which sets Its seal on the world, was well pleased to proceed by all Its methods to raise you on high again; nor between the last night and the first day has there been or will there

Riparar l' uomo a sua intera vita,
Dico con l' una, o ver con ambedue.
Ma perchè l' ovra tanto è più gradita
Dell' operante, quanto più appresenta
Della bontà del cuore ond' è uscita;°
La divina bontà, che il mondo imprenta,
Di proceder per tutte le sue vie 110
A rilevarvi suso fu contenta:
Nè tra l' ultima notte, e il primo die

° *ondegle Gg.; onde le* 3.

universae) viae Domini misericordia et veritas." In a preceding article he has shown that "veritas" is equivalent to "justitia." It may be noted here that "misericordia" is coupled thirty or more times with "veritas" or "justitia" in the Psalms. See Purg. xxix. 109, and explanation in Appendix B.

104 S. T. iii. Q. 46. A. 1 (where the objector is supposed to have quoted Ps. xxiv. 10 as *against* the necessity of Christ's passion): hominem liberari per passionem Christi conveniens fuit et misericordiae et justitiae ejus. Justitiae quidem; quia per passionem suam Christus satisfecit pro peccato humani generis. Misericordiae vero; quia cum homo per se satisfacere non posset pro peccato totius humanae naturae (Q. 1. A. 1), Deus ei satisfactorem dedit, filium suum.

106-108 Cf. Eth. Nic. x. 5: *Συναύξει γὰρ τὴν ἐνέργειαν ἡ οἰκεία ἡδονή· μᾶλλον γὰρ ἕκαστα κρίνουσι καὶ ἐξακριβοῦσιν οἱ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἐνεργοῦντες.*

109 Cf. i. 69. The repetition of the phrase seems intended to knit the whole argument together.

be a procedure so lofty and magnificent either by the one way or by the other. For God was more bountiful to give Himself in making man sufficient to raise himself, than if He had of Himself alone remitted the sin. And all other methods were short in respect of justice, save that the Son of God should be humbled to become incarnate.

"Now, well to fulfil every desire for thee, I return to a certain passage to expound, so that thou mayest see

Sì alto e sì magnifico processo,[p]
O per l' una, o per l' altra fue o fie.[q]
Chè più largo fu Dio a dar sè stesso,
In far l' uom sufficiente a rilevarsi,
Che s' egli avesse sol da sè dimesso.
E tutti gli altri modi erano scarsi
Alla giustizia, se il Figliuol di Dio
Non fosse umiliato ad incarnarsi. 120
Or, per empierti bene ogni disio,
Ritorno a dichiarare in alcun loco,

[p] *alto o sì Gg. Cass.* 14; *ne sì* 2. [q] *luno . . . laltro Gg. Ald.*

113 **processo**; probably with a suggestion of the word in its legal sense.

114 There can hardly be any doubt that this is the correct reading. **una** and **altra** are clearly the *vie* already referred to; and the six following lines have no appropriateness except on this view. The work of redemption was the greatest possible manifestation of God's mercy, because to enable man to rise, through the sacrifice of Himself, was a greater boon than a free pardon; of His justice, because nothing but the incarnation of the Son of God could be a full recompense.

118 Comm. Gg. quotes St. Augustine, de Civ. D. xiii.: Sanandae nostrae miseriae convenientior modus alius non fuit quam per Christi passionem.

121 sqq. Beatrice's words in ll. 67–69 have given rise to another doubt. If all that God immediately created is immortal, how is it that the elements and all things compounded of them decay and perish?

matters there as I do. Thou sayest: I see the air, and I see the fire, the earth and the water and all their combinations come to destruction and endure but a little:—and yet these things were creatures: wherefore, if what I have said has been true, they ought to be secure from corruption. The angels, brother, and the incorrupt country in which

Perchè tu veggi lì così com' io.
Tu dici: Io veggio l' aere, io veggio il foco,
L' acqua, e la terra, e tutte lor misture
Venire a corruzione, e durar poco:
E queste cose pur fur creature:
Per che se ciò ch' ho detto è stato vero,[r]
Esser dovrian da corruzion sicure.
Gli Angeli, frate, e il paese sincero 130

[r] *cio e vero e st. v. Gg.*

124 Taken almost word for word from Arist. de Caelo iii. 6: *Ἀΐδια μὲν οὖν εἶναι* [sc. *τὰ στοιχεῖα*] *ἀδύνατον· ὁρῶμεν γὰρ τὸ πῦρ, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ἁπλῶν σωμάτων διαλυόμενον.*

130 **sincero** represents Aristotle's *εἰλικρινής.* With him, however, fire and earth were the *εἰλικρινέστατα* of the elements. (De Gen. et Corr. ii. 3.) Here the **paese sincero** is, of course, heaven. The argument of this passage is: God created immediately form and matter only. But matter "is only intelligible as the correlate of form: it can neither exist by itself nor be known by itself." (Grote, Aristotle, p. 456.) Consequently neither corruptibility nor incorruptibility can be predicated of it. Thus the only things unsusceptible of corruption in virtue of their immediate creation by God are the heavens, the angels, and human, i.e. intellectual, souls; the first as having a special matter of their own ("non est eadem materia corporis caelestis et elementorum, nisi secundum analogiam," S. T. i. Q. 66. A. 2); the others as being pure forms (Purg. xviii. 49). The soul in its lower aspects, nutritive, vegetative, etc., and all things compounded of the elements consist of matter combined with form (here again **virtù** is very nearly = *ἐνέργεια.* See note to Purg. iv. 1–12), under the influence of the heavenly bodies,

thou art, may be said to be created, just as they are, in their entire being; but the elements which thou hast named and those things which are made of them, are informed by a created virtue. Created was the matter which they have; created was the informing virtue in these stars which go round about them. The soul of every brute and of the plants being endued by complexion with potency draws in

Nel qual tu sei, dir si posson creati,
Sì come sono in loro essere intero:
Ma gli elementi che tu hai nomati,
E quelle cose, che di lor si fanno,
Da creata virtù sono informati.
Creata fu la materia ch' egli hanno:[s]
Creata fu la virtù informante
In queste stelle che intorno a lor vanno.
L' anima d' ogni bruto e delle piante
Di complession potenziata tira 140

[s] *la natura Gg.*

which they receive according to the "complexions" which they have *in posse.* But that which is compounded can be destroyed.

140 I understand **potenziata** to agree, not as usually taken, with **complession,** but with **anima**; and **di complession potenziata** to be a construction like "di sei ali pennuto" in Purg. xxix. 94. The "complexions" (Brunetto, Trésor ii. 32) are the four elementary properties of matter, heat, cold, moisture, drought; or rather their combinations, *συζεύξεις*, from which the "simple bodies," earth, air, fire, and water, arise. (Ar. de Gen. et Corr. ii. 2, 3, 4.) According to their "complexions" all things have their own potentiality of being affected by the movements of the heavenly bodies. "Actiones corporum caelestium diversimode recipiuntur in inferioribus corporibus, secundum diversam materiae dispositionem," S. T. i. Q. 105. A. 3. "Esse complexionatum reperitur in naturalibus," De Mon. i. 4, and cf. Conv. iii. 3 respecting plants. It is clear, I think, that **lo raggio e il moto** must be taken as the object and not the subject of **tira.** Cf. v. 125.

the ray and the movement of the holy lights. But your life the highest Goodness inspires immediately, and enamours it of Itself, so that ever after it desires It. And hence thou canst further deduce argument for your resurrection, if thou think again how the flesh of man was made at the time when the first parents were both made."

Lo raggio e il moto delle luci sante.
Ma vostra vita senza mezzo spira[t]
La somma beninanza, e l' innamora
Di sè, sì che poi sempre la disira.
E quinci puoi argomentare ancora
Vostra resurrezion, se tu ripensi
Come l' umana carne fessi allora,
Che li primi parenti intrambo fensi.

[t] *nostra* 3 *Ald. Bi. Giul.*

145-148 "Cum in prima rerum formatione nullum praecesserit humanum corpus, cujus virtute per viam generationis aliud simile in specie formaretur; oportuit primum corpus hominis immediate a Deo formari," S. T. i. Q. 91. A. 2. The deduction from this of the resurrection of the body appears to be Dante's own; at any rate it is not formulated by Aquinas.

CANTO VIII.

ARGUMENT.

They ascend to the third Heaven, of Venus, wherein are the souls of those who on earth were lovers. Dante talks with the King Charles Martel, who reproves his own house, and explains how if Nature be thwarted, a good seed may bring forth evil fruit.

THE world to its own peril used to deem that the fair one of Cyprus beamed forth the foolish love, turning in the third epicycle; wherefore not to her only did they pay honour of sacrifices and of votive shouts, the ancient folk in their ancient error, but they honoured Dione and Cupid, her for her

SOLEA creder lo mondo in suo periclo,
Che la bella Ciprigna il folle amore
Raggiasse, volta nel terzo epiciclo;
Per chè non pure a lei faceano onore
Di sacrifici e di votivo grido
Le genti antiche nell' antico errore:
Ma Dione onoravano e Cupido,[a]

[a] *Ma Junone Gg.; dove* 14.

[1] **suo periclo.** "I.e. animarum pernitiem," Comm. Gg.

[2] **Ciprigna** = Cyprigenia, formed, no doubt, after Κυπρογένεια. **il folle amore,** as opposed to "honestus amor conjugalis," P. di Dante.

[3] The epicycle was a contrivance of the Ptolemaic astronomy to account for the "retrograde" movements of the planets. Each was

mother, him for her son, and said that he sat in Dido's lap; and from her, from whom I am taking my opening, they took the name of the star with which the Sun dallies, now to rearward, now in front. I was not conscious of my ascent to it; but of being in it my Lady gave me assurance enough, in that I saw her grown more fair.

And as a spark is seen in a flame, and as voice is dis-

Questa per madre sua, questo per figlio,[b]
E dicean ch' ei sedette in grembo a Dido:
E da costei, ond' io principio piglio, 10
Pigliavano il vocabol della stella,
Che il sol vagheggia or da coppa or da ciglio.
Io non m' accorsi del salire in ella:
Ma d' esservi entro mi fece assai fede
La donna mia ch' io vidi far più bella.
E come in fiamma favilla si vede

[b] *Quella W.*

considered as revolving not immediately in a circle round the earth, but in a smaller circle about a point in the former circle. "In sul dosso di questo cerchio è una speretta che per sè medesima in esto cielo si volge; lo cerchio (i.e. the great circle in the plane of the principal orbit) della quale gli astrologi chiamano epiciclo."—Conv. ii. 4.

9 Aeneid i. 657 sqq. and 715–719.

12 I have followed P. di Dante, Comm. Gg. and Landino (who, by the way, reads *da poppa*), in taking **il sol** as the subject, and not the object, of **vagheggia.** The word is usually, if not always, used by Dante of the masculine toward the feminine. The allusion is of course to the fact that Venus, whether preceding or following the sun, is always near him. **Da coppa, da ciglio,** lit. "on the side of the nape," "of the brow."

13 They pass to the sphere of Venus.

15 **far.** "The infinitive of transitives can in certain cases express a passive sense."—Diez iii. 189. Strictly speaking, of course, the apparent subject is really the object: "I saw the act of making her more fair take place."

cerned in voice, when one is steady and the other goes and returns, saw I in that light other lamps moving around with more and less speed, in the measure, I believe, of their eternal vision. From a chill cloud never did winds descend, whether visible or not, so swiftly that they would not appear hindered and slow to whosoever had seen these lights divine come towards us, leaving the circling which had been first begun among the Seraphim on high. And within those

E come in voce voce si discerne,
Quando una è ferma e l' altra va e riede,
Vid' io in essa luce altre lucerne
Muoversi in giro più e men correnti, 20
Al modo, credo, di lor viste eterne.[c]
Di fredda nube non disceser venti,
O visibili o no, tanto festini,
Che non paressero impediti e lenti,
A chi avesse quei lumi divini
Veduto a noi venir, lasciando il giro
Pria cominciato in gli alti Serafini :[d]
E dietro a quei che più innanzi appariro,

[c] *interne Gg. Cass. W.* [d] *gli altri Cass. 2 Ald.*

[18] "Canto fermo" is the name given by musicians to the form of composition in which one voice sustains the theme, while the others are singing a more or less florid accompaniment.

[21] Cf. v. 4 sqq.

[22] Cf. Purg. v. 37. The allusion here is to the ἐκνεφίας (hurricane) of Ar. Meteor. iii. 1.

[27] Because the seraphim, as the highest order of angels, preside over the movement of the *primo mobile*, upon which the movements of all the other heavens depend. We learn from Convito ii. 6, that the order especially charged with directing the movement of Venus are the "Thrones;" see ix. 61. (This arrangement, however, differs from that finally adopted by Dante; see note to xxviii. 130.)

which appeared most in front, *Hosanna* was sounding so that never since have I been without desire of hearing it again. Then one drew nearer to us, and alone began: "We are all ready to thy pleasure that thou mayest have joy of us. We revolve with those princes of heaven, in one circle, with one circling, with one longing, to whom thou saidest erewhile in the world, '*Ye whose intelligence the third heaven moves;*' and we are so full of love that, to

Sonava Osanna, sì che unque poi[e]
Di riudir non fui senza disiro. 30
Indi si fece l' un più presso a noi,
E solo incominciò: Tutti sem presti
Al tuo piacer, perchè di noi ti gioi.
Noi ci volgiam coi Principi celesti
D' un giro e d' un girare e d' una sete,
Ai quali tu nel mondo già dicesti:
Voi, che intendendo il terzo ciel movete:
E sem sì pien d' amor, che per piacerti

[e] *che con quei poi Gg.*

[31] **un.** This is Carlo Martello (not to be confused with the original Charles Martel), eldest son of Charles II. of Anjou and Naples. He was born about 1271, was crowned King of Hungary, on the death, without male issue, of his maternal uncle, Ladislas IV., son of Stephen V., in 1289—but never ruled there—married Clemence, daughter of Rudolf of Hapsburg, by whom he had a daughter of the same name, married afterwards to Lewis X. of France, visited Florence in 1295, and died apparently in that year. See Villani vii. 85, 135, viii. 13, and x. 106. These chapters contain all that is known of this prince, whose early promise so much impressed Dante.

[37] This is the first line of the Canzone to which Conv. ii. is the commentary. "Corpora caelestia moventur ab aliqua substantia apprehendente," S. T. i. Q. 70. A. 3. "In quibusdam libris de Arabico translatis substantiae separatae quas nos angelos dicimus, Intelligentiae vocantur," Q. 76. A. 10.

please thee, a little rest will not be less sweet." After that my eyes had been lifted to my Lady in reverence, and she had of her own self made them content and certain, they turned back to the light which had given such promise of itself, and "Say who ye are" was my utterance, stamped with deep affection. O, in what measure and in what wise did I see it grow more by reason of a new joy which accrued, when I spoke, upon its joys. So fashioned, it said to me: "The world held me below short time; and if

Non fia men dolce un poco di quiete.
Poscia che gli occhi miei si furo offerti 40
Alla mia donna reverenti, ed essa
Fatti gli avea di sè contenti e certi,
Rivolsersi alla luce, che promessa
Tanto s' avea, e: Di' chi siete, fue[f]
La voce mia di grande affetto impressa.
O quanta e quale vid' io lei far piùe
Per allegrezza nuova, che s' accrebbe,
Quand' io parlai, all' allegrezze sue.
Così fatta mi disse: il mondo m' ebbe

[f] *dichi*, alt. to *dechi Gg.; dir chi Land.; di, Chi s. Vell.; se' tu al.*

44 **Di' chi siete?** is the reading which has the weight of authority. There is supposed to be some difficulty about the change from the singular to the plural, though a similar change is found in Purg. xix. 94; and for this reason, apparently, some, including Benvenuto and Bianchi, read *Deh! chi* (with which we may compare Purg. xi. 37), and others, e.g. Vell. and Dan. *di "Chi siete?"* a very awkward construction. Gg. has *dichi*, altered into *dechi*. Others again adopt a reading suggested by Daniello in his note, *Di' chi se' tu.* But there seems no reason why Dante should not ask, "Tell me, who you in this heaven are?" Of course, **siete** must not be taken as the plural of reverence.

it had been more—much evil will be, that then had not been. My happiness holds me hidden from thee, which beams around me, and covers me like an animal swathed in its own silk. Well didst thou love me, and hadst good reason why: for if I had stayed below, I had shown thee of my love more than the leaves. That left bank which is washed of Rhone after it is mingled with Sorgue, awaited me in due time for its lord; and that horn of Italy which makes its

Giù poco tempo; e se più fosse stato, 50
Molto sarà di mal, che non sarebbe.
La mia letizia mi ti tien celato,
Chè mi raggia dintorno, e mi nasconde,
Quasi animal di sua seta fasciato.
Assai m' amasti, ed avesti bene onde:
Chè s' io fossi giù stato, io ti mostrava
Di mio amor più oltre che le fronde.
Quella sinistra riva, che si lava
Di Rodano, poich' è misto con Sorga,
Per suo signore a tempo m' aspettava; 60

50, 51 For the somewhat condensed form of expression, cf. vi. 140, 142.

52 Cf. v. 136.

54 Cf. xxvi. 97, 135. Witte's view, that this is the last sphere in which the spirits appear with their bodily lineaments, seems hardly borne out by the text. It is rather the first in which they do not; showing themselves as lights only.

57 I.e. I should have shown fruits as well. We cannot now tell Dante's reasons for the opinion he formed of Carlo Martello. Their acquaintance must have been made on the occasion of the prince's visit to Florence.

58 sqq. I.e. "I should, if I had lived, have been Count of Provence" (through his grandmother, daughter of Raymond Berenger), "King of Apulia, and of Hungary."

suburbs of Bari, of Gaeta, and of Catona, from where Tronto and Verde disgorge into the sea. Already was gleaming on my brow the crown of that land which the Danube waters after it leaves its German banks; and fair Trinacria which grows dark between Pachynum and

E quel corno d' Ausonia, che s' imborga
Di Bari, di Gaeta, e di Catona,[g]
Da ove Tronto e Verde in mare sgorga :[h]
Fulgeami già in fronte la corona
Di quella terra che il Danubio riga,
Poi che le ripe Tedesche abbandona :
E la bella Trinacria, che caliga

[g] *Crotona Ald. Land. Bi. Giul. etc.*
[h] *Da onde* 14; *La ove Cass.; dove Ald.*

61 **s' imborga.** This is one of the curious reflexive compounds with *in* (almost untranslatable) which abound in the Paradise, and scarcely appear at all in the other Cantiche. Doubtless they will hereafter serve as arguments for the separate authorship of this portion of the poem.

62 **Catona** is a small town a little N. of Reggio, and almost exactly opposite Messina. It is appropriately taken here to denote the extreme limit of the kingdom of Naples to the south, as the Tronto and Verde (Garigliano) to the north, Bari and Gaeta marking the "upper" and "lower" coasts. It may be noted that these two towns are almost exactly in the same latitude. All three being on the furthest boundary of the territory are, as it were, suburbs, *borghi.* The reading *Crotona*, which most editors from Landino and Aldus have adopted, has no authority from MSS. or early edd., and the very fact of the comparative obscurity in later times of Catona, which Blanc regards as a reason for preferring it (Diz. Dant. s. v. Crotona), is in truth a strong argument against it.

63 Landino, following Buti, has a curious variant: "La ove tronco el verde mare sgorga," apparently suggested by Purg. xiv. 32. **Verde.** See Purg. iii. 131. Here it must clearly denote some stream marking the limit of the "kingdom" on the opposite coast to the Tronto, its N.E. boundary; and this can hardly be any other than the Garigliano.

Pelorum, above the gulf which receives from Eurus greatest disturbance (not on account of Typhoeus, but of nascent sulphur), had still awaited its kings sprung through me of Charles and Rudolf; if ill-government which ever puts

Tra Pachino e Peloro sopra il golfo,
Che riceve da Euro maggior briga,
Non per Tifeo, ma per nascente solfo, 70
Attesi avrebbe li suoi regi ancora[i]
Nati per me di Carlo e di Ridolfo,
Se mala signoria, che sempre accora

[i] *Accesi . . . raggi Gg.*

68 **golfo.** That of Catania, which is open to the east.

70 Explanatory of course of **caliga.** As a matter of fact, it was not Typhoeus, but Enceladus whom the ancients fabled to have been buried under Aetna. See Aeneid iii. 578.

71 "My descendants would have ruled in Sicily, if misgovernment had not caused the massacre of the French." Alluding of course to the "Sicilian Vespers," or rising of the Sicilians against the House of Anjou, and expulsion of the French army and officials to the cry of "Muoiano i Francesi!" March 30, 1282. See Villani vii. 61. Through this the crown of Sicily passed to the House of Aragon, who represented (in the female line) that of Swabia. It may not be out of place to quote Amari's estimate of this passage: "Que' tre versi," he says (Ist. Sic. p. 300), "resteranno per sempre come la più forte, precisa e fedele dipintura, che ingegno d' uomo far potesse del vespro siciliano."

72 See note to line 31. Observe that in his descendants the contending factions would have been united, Rudolf being as Emperor the head of the Ghibelines, and Charles the great champion of the Guelfs. Charles himself seems to have foreseen something of this kind. See Villani vii. 55: "Lo re Carlo il (sc. Ridolfo) temette forte; *e per essere bene di lui*, diede a Carlo Martello figliuolo del figliuolo, la figliuola del detto re Ridolfo per moglie." We may, perhaps, see here the reason of Dante's great interest in him.

73 **accora.** Usually, as in Purg. v. 57, x. 84, "to touch the heart." Here, however, Dict. Crusc. following Buti, seems right in rendering "animos addere."

heart in the subject-peoples had not moved Palermo to cry, 'Die, die.' And if my brother had foreseen this he would ere now be flying the greedy poverty of Catalonia, that it harm him not; for verily it needs that provision be made either by him or by another, so that on his laden bark more load be not put. His nature which of a lavish

Li popoli suggetti, non avesse
Mosso Palermo a gridar: Mora, mora.
E se mio frate questo antivedesse,
L' avara povertà di Catalogna
Già fuggiria, perchè non gli offendesse:
Chè veramente provveder bisogna
Per lui o per altrui, sì ch' a sua barca 80
Carcata più di carco non si pogna.[k]
La sua natura, che di larga parca

[k] *Carica Ald.*

76 **mio frate.** Robert, Duke of Calabria, third son of Charles II., with two of his brothers, was detained in exchange for his father (see Purg. xx. 79) by the King of Aragon from 1288 till 1295. James of Aragon (grandson of Manfred) and Charles were reconciled in that year; and in the following year James and his great Admiral Roger di Loria made their submission to the Pope, Boniface VIII. Afterwards James and Charles in alliance attacked Don Frederick, who had retained Sicily (see note, Purg. vii. 119). We find Robert on more than one occasion after this in command of Aragonese or Catalan forces, whence, no doubt, the allusion in the next line.

79-81 It may be noticed that the war between Charles and James on the one side and Frederick on the other was mainly carried on at sea, and that Robert and Loria, being on their way to provision Catania and other captured fortresses in Sicily, were wrecked off Cape Pachinum in the summer of 1301. This may have suggested the metaphor of these lines.

82 The "*larghezza*" of Charles II. is mentioned by Villani; see the passage quoted to Purg. vii. 119; it is indeed the one virtue which

one is the niggardly offspring, would have need of such soldiery as should not care to put into coffer." "Because I believe that the high joy which thy speech infuses into me, my lord, in a place where all good has its end and beginning, is seen by thee as I see it, it is the more grateful to me; and this too I hold dear, that thou discernest it in gazing upon God. Thou hast made me joyful; and so make me clear, since in speaking thou hast moved me to doubt how from sweet seed bitter can be." This I to him; and he to me: "If I am able to demonstrate to thee

Discese, avria mestier di tal milizia,
Che non curasse di mettere in arca.
Però ch' io credo che l' alta letizia,
Che il tuo parlar m' infonde, signor mio,
Là 've ogni ben si termina e s' inizia,[l]
Per te si veggia, come la vegg' io;
Grata m' è più, e anche questo ho caro,
Perchè il discerni rimirando in Dio. 90
Fatto m' hai lieto: e così mi fa chiaro,
Poichè parlando a dubitar m' hai mosso,
Come esser può di dolce seme amaro.[m]
Questo io a lui: ed egli a me: S' io posso

[l] *Dove* 3; *Ove Ald.* [m] *uscir Ald. W. Bi. Giul.*

Dante (xix. 128) allows him. The historian also, while approving, as do other contemporaries, the general character of Robert, says (xii. 10): "poi chè cominciò a invecchiare, l'avarizia il guastava." Some suggest that he learnt this during his compulsory stay in Spain.

90 **Perchè**, as in Purg. vi. 88. The transition from "because" to "that" is easy. Cf. the late Latin use of *quia*.

92, 93 With reference to the remark in l. 82. **dubitar** is used in its technical sense = the Greek ἀπορεῖν.

one truth, towards that which thou askest thou wilt hold thy face as thou dost hold thy back. The Good which sets in revolution and contents all the realm which thou art scaling, makes its foresight to be virtue in these great bodies. And not only the natures are foreseen in the mind which is of itself perfect, but they together with their preservation. Wherefore whatsoever this bow discharges falls disposed to a foreseen end, just as a thing aimed right upon its mark. If this were not so, the heaven where thou

Mostrarti un vero, a quel che tu dimandi
Terrai il viso, come tieni il dosso.
Lo ben, che tutto il regno che tu scandi
Volge e contenta, fa esser virtute
Sua providenza in questi corpi grandi:
E non pur le nature provvedute 100
Son nella mente ch' è da sè perfetta,
Ma esse insieme con la lor salute.
Per che quantunque questo arco saetta,
Disposto cade a provveduto fine,
Sì come cosa in suo segno diretta.

95 **un vero.** I.e. the doctrine that God's providence, acting through the heavenly bodies (cf. Purg. xxx. 109 sqq.), overrules all other causes, disposes all things to their ends, and arranges the order of nature with a view to its preservation.

98,99 S. T. ii. 2. Q. 96. A. 2: "Virtutes naturales corporum naturalium consequuntur eorum formas substantiales, quas sortiuntur ea impressione caelestium corporum."

103-105 Therefore nothing happens by chance. For the metaphor cf. i. 126; and see note at end of that Canto.

105 All authority seems in favour of the reading **cosa**; though a better sense is given by *cocca.* This denotes properly the notch of the arrow (Inf. xii. 77); but it is used Inf. xvii. 136, for the arrow itself.

journeyest would so produce its effects that they would not be an artist's works, but ruins. And this cannot be, if the intellects which move these stars are not maimed, and maimed the First, in that He has not perfected them. Wilt thou that this truth dawn more upon thee?" And I: "No longer, because I see it is impossible for Nature, in that which is necessary, to fail." Wherefore he again: "Say now, would it be the worse for a man on earth if he were not a citizen?" "Yes," answered I, "and here I seek

Se ciò non fosse, il ciel che tu cammine
  Producerebbe sì li suoi effetti,
  Che non sarebbero arti, ma ruine;
E ciò esser non può, se gli intelletti
  Che muovon queste stelle non son manchi, 110
  E manco il primo, che non gli ha perfetti.
Vuoi tu che questo ver più ti s' imbianchi?
  Ed io: Non già; perchè impossibil veggio
  Che la Natura, in quel ch' è uopo, stanchi.
Ond' egli ancora: Or di', sarebbe il peggio
  Per l' uomo in terra, se non fosse cive?
  Sì, rispos' io, e qui ragion non cheggio.

106-111 If things did happen by chance, all would be in confusion, which would argue imperfection both in the Mover of the heavens, and in the Prime Mover. See also De Mon. i. 3, 4, where the line of argument is not unlike that followed here; and Conv. iii. 15: Avrebbe anche la natura fatto indarno, perocchè non sarebbe ad alcuno fine ordinato.

113, 114 The argument from the law that Nature does nothing in vain, is also used in De Mon. ii. 7; and there, as here, is obviously borrowed from Ar. Pol. i. 2: *ἄνθρωπος φύσει πολιτικὸν ζῷον . . . οὐθὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις μάτην ποιεῖ, λογον δὲ μόνον ἄνθρωπος ἔχει τῶν ζῴων.*

115-117 Now man cannot fully attain his end unless he lives in society. Ar. Eth. i. 7: *φύσει πολιτικὸς ἄνθρωπος.* (ix. 9): *πολιτικὸν ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ συζῆν πεφυκός.* So Pol. l.c. and iii. 6.

no argument." "And can he be, if one lives not diversely below, by means of divers functions? No, if your master well writes on that point." So he came in deduction thus far; afterward he concluded: "Then it behoves that divers must be the roots of the effects in you; wherefore one is born Solon and another Xerxes, another Melchisedec, and another, he who flying through the air lost his son. The

E può egli esser, se giù non si vive[n]
Diversamente per diversi ufici?
No, se il maestro vostro ben vi scrive. 120
Sì venne deducendo insino a quici;
Poscia conchiuse: Dunque esser diverse
Convien dei vostri effetti le radici:
Per che un nasce Solone ed altro Serse,[o]
Altro Melchisedech, ed altro quello
Che volando per l' aere il figlio perse.

[n] *segui* 4; *se qui Gg.* [o] *assalone* 145.

118-120 And in that case there must be a diversity of functions. The particular passage of Aristotle which Dante has in mind would seem to be Pol. ii. 2: *Οὐ μόνον δ' ἐκ πλειόνων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ εἴδει διαφερόντων· οὐ γὰρ γίνεται πόλις ἐξ ὁμοίων . . . Οἱ μὲν γᾶρ ἄρχουσιν, οἱ δ' ἄρχονται παρὰ μέρος, ὥσπερ ἂν ἄλλοι γενόμενοι. Τὸν αὐτὸν δὴ τρόπον ἀρχόντων ἕτεροι ἑτέρας ἄρχουσιν ἀρχάς.* See also Conv. iv. 4.

122 If all things are disposed by providence, through the influence of the heavenly bodies, to their proper ends, and if differences are seen in the ends to which men's various dispositions fit them, it follows that the different dispositions of men must be the result of different influences.

125 **quello**: Daedalus. One man is a law-giver, another a tyrant, another a priest (or a good king), another a craftsman. In the last there may be a suggestion of the difference between son and father. Daedalus flew, Icarus fell.

nature of the spheres, which is seal to the mortal wax, does well its art, but it does not distinguish the one from the other habitation. Hence it happens that Esau is divided in his begetting from Jacob, and Quirinus comes from so mean a father that he is given to Mars. A nature begotten would always make its course like its begetters if the divine foresight were not stronger. Now that which was behind thee is before; but that thou mayest know that I have joy of thee, I will that thou clothe thee with a corollary. Nature, if it finds fortune at odds with it, like every other seed out of its

La circular natura, ch' è suggello[p]
  Alla cera mortal, fa ben su' arte,
  Ma non distingue l' un dall' altro ostello.
Quinci adivien, ch' Esaù si diparte 130
  Per seme da Iacob; e vien Quirino
  Da sì vil padre, che si rende a Marte.
Natura generata il suo cammino
  Simil farebbe sempre ai generanti,
  Se non vincesse il provveder divino.
Or quel che t' era dietro t' è davanti.
  Ma perchè sappi che di te mi giova,
  Un corollario voglio che t' ammanti.
Sempre natura se fortuna truova
  Discorde a sè, come ogni altra semente,[q] 140

[p] *Larticular* 124; *Larticula* 5. [q] *conmognaltra* 14; *conognaltra* 5.

127, 128 **suggello . . . cera.** The favourite image; as in i. 41 and elsewhere.

133-135 Cf. Purg. vii. 123.

136 See l. 96.

138 **corollario.** Cf. Purg. xxviii. 136. **ammanti:** put on as a cloak, the last garment.

140, 141 We are again reminded of Purg. xxx. 118–120.

own country, always makes ill sample. And if the world below laid its mind to the foundation which nature lays, following her, it would have its folk good. But ye wrest to religion such an one as shall have been born to be girt with the sword, and ye make him a king who is a man of sermons; wherefore your track is outside of the road."

Fuor di sua region, fa mala pruova.
E se il mondo laggiù ponesse mente
Al fondamento che natura pone,
Seguendo lui, avria buona la gente.
Ma voi torcete alla religione
Tal che fia nato a cingersi la spada,[1]
E fate Re di tal ch' è da sermone:
Onde la traccia vostra è fuor di strada.

[1] *che fu Ald.*

142 If people were brought up in accordance with their innate dispositions.

147 "Et videtur hoc dicere pro rege roberto, qui bene sermocinabatur. . . . Etiam poeta caute fingit carolum dicere ista, quod voluisset potius Robertum fieri fratrem minorem quam regem, ut regnum pervenisset ad heredem suum."—Comm. Gg. In the previous line Scartazzini sees, perhaps rightly, an allusion to Charles's eldest surviving brother, Lewis, who became a monk and Archbishop of Toulouse, and was canonised in 1311 (Vill. ix. 23).

CANTO IX.

ARGUMENT.

Dante talks with Cunizza; and with Folco the troubadour and bishop, who shows him the soul of Rahab.

AFTER that thy Charles, O fair Clemence, had enlightened me, he recounted to me the treasons which his seed should undergo; but he said: "Keep silence, and let the years go

DAPOICHÈ Carlo tuo, bella Clemenza,
M' ebbe chiarito, mi narrò gl' inganni
Che ricever dovea la sua semenza.
Ma disse: Taci, e lascia volger gli anni:[a]

[a] *passar gli a. Gg.; muover* 45.

[1] Scartazzini devotes a long note to the question whether it is Charles's wife or his daughter that is here apostrophised; taking himself the latter view. The objection to the former is that the elder Clemenza died in 1301, that is long before the "Paradise" was written. On the other hand **Carlo tuo** is an unusual way of speaking of a father to his daughter: and so much so, that in spite of the consensus of the Italian commentators, at all events from Landino downwards, we must, I think, agree with Witte in understanding the elder Clemenza to be the one indicated. For this view we have the support of P. di Dante (which would be more weighty if he did not call her "filia *Alberti* regis," perhaps confusing her with the wife of Charles, son of Robert) and Comm. Gg. that is, Benvenuto, whom Scartazzini, led astray by the defective Italian version of his commentary, deems to be on the other side. His words are "fuit uxor Karuli ad quam dirigit sermonem."

round," so that I may not tell, save that a just lamentation will come behind your injuries.

And by this the life of that holy light had turned back to the Sun which replenishes it, as being that Good, which is to everything in due quantity. Ah, souls deceived and creatures impious, who wrest your hearts from a Good so fashioned, directing the thoughts of your heads unto vanity.

And lo, another of those splendours made towards me, and began to signify in its outward brightening its will to

Sì ch' io non posso dir, se non che pianto
Giusto verrà diretro ai vostri danni.
E già la vita di quel lume santo[b]
Rivolta s' era al Sol che la riempie,
Come quel ben, ch' a ogni cosa è tanto.[c]
Ahi anime ingannate, e fatture impie,[d] 10
Che da sì fatto ben torcete i cuori,
Drizzando in vanità le vostre tempie!
Ed ecco un' altro di quegli splendori
Ver me si fece, e il suo voler piacermi
Significava nel chiarir di fuori.

[b] *la vista Cass.* 1234. [c] *Come a quel Cass. Bi. Giul.*
[d] *fatue ed empie Bi. Giul. etc.*

[6] **danni.** I.e. the supersession of Charles's son Carlo Roberto in the kingdom of Naples by his uncle Robert. It is hard to say whether Dante had any actual events in view, or was only prophesying according to his own wishes. Robert's misfortunes, to which some of the older comm. somewhat naïvely refer, e.g. the death of his only son in 1328, and two narrow escapes from assassination, did not befall him till Dante had been many years dead. At this time he was prosperous enough.

[7] **la vita.** I.e. the soul which was within the light. The reading *vista* is tempting, but lacks authority.

[10] Cf. Purg. x. 121.

[15] So v. 132, and elsewhere.

please me. The eyes of Beatrice which were fixed upon me as before, certified me of a dear assent to my desire. "Put, I pray, quick recompense to my wish, blessed spirit," I said, "and give me a proof that there is power in thee to reflect that which I think." Wherefore the light which yet was new to me, from its depth, whence it before was singing, continued, as to one whom it is pleasing to benefit: "In that part of the misguided land of Italy which lies

Gli occhi di Beatrice, ch' eran fermi
  Sovra me come pria, di caro assenso
  Al mio disio certificato fermi.[e]
Deh metti al mio voler tosto compenso,
  Beato spirto, dissi, e fammi pruova 20
  Ch' è possa in te refletter quel ch' io penso.[f]
Onde la luce che m' era ancor nuova,
  Del suo profondo, ond' ella pria cantava,
  Seguette, come a cui di ben far giova:
In quella parte della terra prava

[e] *al mio disio Gg. Cass.* 14.
[f] *Chi possa Cass.; Ch' io possa* 23 *W. Bi. Giul.; Ch' i Ald.*

17 **pria.** viii. 42.

21 With much diffidence I venture to modify the usually accepted reading of this line, which appears to contain an error in grammar, and not to give the required meaning. If **possa** be taken as a verb, there is nothing to account for the subjunctive; and further, it is not Dante who reflects his own thought, but the spirit who reflects it back to him. (There does not seem to be any question here of the reflexion of thoughts in the Divine mind as in xv. 61; nor is l. 61, which some comm. quote, at all to the point.) The reading *che possa* is found in Gg. 1 and 4; while Philalethes' rendering, "gieb Beweis mir dass sich in Dir abspiegle was ich denke," looks as if he had read *che puossi*, for which however I find no authority. The infin. without a preposition after **è possa** is justified by such phrases as "è uopo aprirmi," Inf. ii. 81.

25 **in quella parte.** I.e. the district of Treviso, which is bounded,

between Rialto and the streams of Brenta and Piave, there lifts itself a hill, and rises not very high, the whence descended on a time a little spark which mightily assailed the region round about. Of one root both I and it were born; Cunizza was I called, and here I shine, because the

Italica, che siede intra Rialto
E le fontane di Brenta e di Piava,
Si leva un colle, e non surge molt' alto,
Là onde scese già una facella,
Che fece alla contrada grande assalto; 30
D' una radice nacqui ed io ed ella;
Cunizza fui chiamata, e qui refulgo

roughly speaking, by the rivers Brenta and Piave, and extends to the territory of Venice.

[27] **fontane** seems here to mean the streams themselves, for the sources of both rivers are far from Trevisan territory; unless we are to hold with Philalethes that Dante means to indicate the position of Ezzelino's patrimony about the middle point of a triangle formed by the sources of Piave and Brenta, and the town of Venice. There is however some uncertainty about the position of Romano. Lubin understands Dante to refer to a point at or near the junction of the territories of Padua, Treviso, and Venice. No trace of it seems now to exist; and the view of Philalethes, who with other commentators puts it near Bassano, may arise from a confusion of it with the fortress founded by Ezzelino which still stands in that town.

[29] **facella.** Pietro di Dante, who not improbably died at Treviso, mentions a legend that Ezzelino's mother, shortly before his birth, dreamt that she was brought to bed of a lighted firebrand. His history is too well known to need repetition. Dante places him among the tyrants in hell, Inf. xii. 110. He died in 1260. See Villani vi. 72.

[32] Cunizza was, as here appears, sister to Ezzelino. "Fuit soror ezelini de romano recte filia veneris semper amorosa et vaga de qua vide purg. c. vi. qualiter habebat rem cum sordello mantuano, erat tamen pia benigna et misericors compatiens miseris quos frater affligebat." So Comm. Gg., and this is about all that is known of her, except that her brother seems to have given her in marriage more than once to suit the political exigencies of the moment.

light of this star had the mastery of me. But gladly I allow to myself the occasion of my lot, and it gives me no annoy, which haply would seem a great thing to your common herd. Of this shining and precious jewel of our heaven which is near to me, a great fame has remained, and before it die, this hundredth year has yet to grow five-fold. See if man has need to make himself excellent, so that the first life may leave a second behind. And this the present crowd considers not, which Tagliamento and Adige hem in;

Perchè mi vinse il lume d' esta stella.
Ma lietamente a me medesma indulgo
La cagion di mia sorte, e non mi noia :[g]
Che forse parrìa forte al vostro vulgo.
Di questa luculenta e cara gioia
Del nostro cielo, che più m' è propinqua,
Grande fama rimase, e pria che muoia
Questo centesim' anno ancor s' incinqua; 40
Vedi se far si dee l' uomo eccellente,
Sì ch' altra vita la prima relinqua.
E ciò non pensa la turba presente,
Che Tagliamento ed Adice richiude,

g *Ch' è cagion Gg.*

34 **indulgo.** "I.e. remitto," Comm. Gg. Landino's explanation is perhaps better: "io sommamente mi contento haver havuto tal' influentia, percioche essendo beata non può dolersi de' peccati commessi." Cf. Purg. xxxiii. 91 sqq. So Aquinas, S. T. Suppl. Q. 87. A. 1: Sancti in patria erunt ita perfusi gaudio, quod dolor in eis locum habere non poterit; et ideo de peccatis non dolebunt, sed potius gaudebunt de divina misericordia, qua eis peccata sunt relaxata.

41, 42 Dante appears here to attach more importance to posthumous fame than he allows to it in Purg. xi. 103 sqq.

43 **ciò non pensa:** takes no thought for its reputation. **pensa** has nearly its original sense "weighs."

44 The district enclosed by these rivers contains the greater part of

nor for being smitten, does it yet repent. But soon will it come to pass that Padua will discolour at the marsh the water which washes Vicenza, through its folk being unripe for their duty. And where Sile and Cagnano join company,

Nè per esser battuta ancor si pente.
Ma tosto fia che Padova al palude
Cangerà l' acqua che Vincenza bagna,
Per essere al dover le genti crude.
E dove Sile e Cagnan s' accompagna,

the modern province of Venetia, and includes the towns of Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Belluno, Treviso, and Venice. Philalethes is probably right in his view that it is indicated here merely as the scene of Ezzelino's achievements, and the region in which the speaker's life was chiefly spent. Cf. Purg. xvi. 115.

46-48 Vicenza, owing to its position between the two powerful cities of Padua and Verona, which were Guelf and Ghibeline respectively, was much tossed about in these times. After the death of Ezzelino the Ghibeline cause was for a time under a cloud, and Vicenza became subject to Padua. In 1297 however it returned for a while to its former allegiance; but the Paduans seem to have got it back, for in 1311 we find the Vicentines treating with the Emperor Henry VII. for their independence. Henry was not on the best terms with the Paduans; indeed in the next year they turned out his vicar, and massacred the Ghibelines; see Villani ix. 36. To this allusion is made in l. 48; with which cf. Purg. vi. 91. Accordingly Can Grande was appointed imperial vicar of Vicenza, and a war began, which ended in the defeat of the Paduans in 1314. The fighting was chiefly near the Bacchiglione, the river on which Vicenza and Padua stand, and which in those days formed a marsh in the low ground between the Monti Berici and Euganei. Philalethes with some probability identifies the fight here referred to with one that took place in June, 1312.

49-51 Sile and Cagnano are two streams which meet at Treviso: Conv. iv. 14. Richard of Cammino (son of the "good Gerard" of Purg. xvi. 124), being lord of that city, was treacherously murdered while playing chess, by an assassin acting under the orders of some members of his own family. So Comm. Gg. Ottimo says that Can Grande

such an one is lording it and going with his head high, that already the web to catch him is in making. Feltro will yet bewail the default of its unholy pastor, which shall be so shameful that none ever entered into Malta for the like. Right broad would be the vat which should receive the Ferrarese blood, and weary he who should weigh it ounce by ounce, which this courteous priest will give to prove himself of a party; and such gifts will be conformable to the

Tal signoreggia e va con la testa alta, 50
Che già per lui carpir si fa la ragna.
Piangerà Feltro ancora la diffalta
Dell' empio suo pastor, che sarà sconcia
Sì che per simil non s' entrò in Malta.
Troppo sarebbe larga la bigoncia,
Che ricevesse il sangue Ferrarese,
E stanco chi il pesasse ad oncia ad oncia,
Che donerà questo prete cortese,
Per mostrarsi di parte; e cotai doni
Conformi fieno al viver del paese. 60

was the instigator; others that it was a nobleman whose wife Richard had dishonoured. The date was 1312. **Tal—che.** Cf. Purg. xviii. 121.

52 sqq. In 1314 the Bishop of Feltro surrendered to the Guelf *podestà* of Ferrara certain Ghibelines of the house of Fontana, who having failed in a conspiracy, had fled to his city for refuge. They and their companions, to the number of thirty, were executed at Ferrara. After this Feltro passed under the rule of the family of Cammino, and the Bishop is said to have been beaten to death with sandbags.

54 Malta or Marta was a fortress near Montefiascone, on the lake of Bolsena, used as a prison for clerical delinquents. So say all the early commentators. Daniello, however, says "it is a tower of Cittadella, a castle in the Paduan country, built by Azzolino, the speaker's brother;" but Ezzelino's victims were not as a rule criminals. Scartazzini finds mention in an early chronicler of a tower called Malta, at Viterbo, and assumes this to be referred to here; but in a matter of this kind the thirteenth century commentators are most likely to be right.

living of the country. On high are mirrors, ye call them Thrones, whence God in His judgements so beams on us that these words seem to us good." Here she was silent, and made me the semblance as though she had turned to another matter, by the wheeling in which she placed herself as she was before.

The other joyful one, who already had been marked by me, became a brilliant object in my view, like a fine ruby whereon the Sun should strike. Through rejoicing is brightness gained there on high, as laughter here; but below the shadow is dark outwardly even as the mind is sad.

Su sono specchi, voi dicete Troni,[h]
  Onde rifulge a noi Dio giudicante,
  Sì che questi parlar ne paion buoni.
Qui si tacette, e fecemi sembiante
  Che fosse ad altro volta, per la rota
  In che si mise com' era davante.
L' altra letizia, che m' era già nota,
  Preclara cosa mi si fece in vista,[i]
  Qual fin balascio in che lo Sol percuota.
Per letiziar lassù fulgor s' acquista, 70
  Sì come riso qui; ma giù s' abbuia
  L' ombra di fuor, come la mente è trista.

[h] *sp. e voi Gg.* [i] *Per cara Gg. Cass.; Per chiara* 3.

61 See xxviii. 98 sqq. as to the angelic hierarchy. The Thrones are the third order. "Throni dicuntur secundum Gregorium per quos Deus sua judicia exercet," S. T. i. Q. 106. A. 6. All the angels are "mirrors," reflecting the Divine mind to lower intelligences. Cf. xiii. 59.

63 Purg. xx. 94.

67 **nota**, as having been already pointed out by Cunizza, l. 37.

71 **giù**. There is a question whether this means "in hell," or "on earth." The symmetry of the passage seems to require the former: but no mention is found of any such phenomenon as the darkening of

"God sees all, and thy vision is in Him," said I, "blessed spirit, so that no wish can steal itself away from thee. Thy voice then, which ever charms the heaven with the song of those kindly fires which of six wings made their cowl, why gives it not satisfaction to my desires? No longer should I wait for thy request, if I were in thee as thou art within me." "The greatest vale in which the water spreads itself,"

Dio vede tutto, e tuo veder s' inluia,
  Diss' io, beato spirto, sì che nulla
  Voglia di sè a te puote esser fuia.
Dunque la voce tua, che il Ciel trastulla
  Sempre col canto di quei fuochi pii,
  Che di sei ale facean la cuculla,[k]
Perchè non satisface ai miei disii?
  Già non attenderei io tua dimanda, 80
  S' io m' intuassi, come tu t' immii.
La maggior valle in che l' acqua si spanda,

[k] *fannosi cuc. Ald. W. Bi. Giul. etc.*

a shade to indicate an access of grief. Comm. Gg. has "i.e. in isto mundo," and explains further by saying that while human and heavenly joy are alike in that they are displayed here by laughter, there by increase of brightness, there is the difference that the faces of the blessed are always joyful, but the faces of men are sometimes sad. But this involves the necessity of taking **ombra di fuor** to mean "the outward appearance" ("i.e. apparenter," says Comm. Gg.), for which there seems no authority. Perhaps there is an allusion to S. T. Suppl. Q. 97. A. 4: in inferno hoc modo debet esse locus dispositus ad videndum, secundum lucem et tenebras, ut nihil ibi perspicue videatur, sed solummodo sub quadam umbrositate videantur ea quae afflictionem cordi ingerere possunt. In this view the contrast would be between the varying brightness of heaven, and the unchanging gloom of hell.

78 I.e. the Seraphim. Isaiah vi. 2. See viii. 27.

81 If I could read in thy mind, as thou canst in mine.

82 The Mediterranean Sea. The speaker is Folco or Folquet of

began then his words, "apart from that sea which wreathes the earth about, between discordant shores takes its way against the sun so far that it makes meridian in that place where the horizon is wont to be at first. On that valley's shore I was a dweller, between Ebro and Macra, which in a short course parts the Genoese from the Tuscan. With one sunset almost and one sunrise Buggea lies and the land

Incominciaro allor le sue parole,
Fuor di quel mar che la terra inghirlanda,
Tra discordanti liti contra il Sole
Tanto sen va, che fa meridiano
Là dove l' orizzonte pria far suole.
Di quella valle fu' io littorano
Tra Ebro e Macra, che per cammin corto
Parte lo Genovese dal Toscano.[1] 90
Ad un occaso quasi e ad un orto

[1] *Lo Gen. parte* 3 *Ald. W. Giul. etc.*

Marseilles, a famous troubadour. Why he is placed here does not clearly appear; for he does not seem to have been so remarkable for amorous adventures as many of his brethren, Arnald Daniel for example. Possibly Dante (who quotes him, Vulg. El. ii. 6) knew more of his history than has been preserved. He paid his court to Adelais, wife of Barral, Viscount of Marseilles; but after her death, and that of his own wife, he became a Cistercian, and finally Bishop of Toulouse; in which capacity he was distinguished as a persecutor of the Albigenses. He died 1231.

84 The Ocean.

85 **discordanti:** "hinc enim sunt christiani hinc saraceni; hic frigus, ibi calor." Comm. Gg.

86, 87 As we have seen, Purg. xxvii. 1 sqq. the geography of Dante's time regarded the Mediterranean as occupying ninety degrees of longitude.

89 **Ebro e Macra.** The longitude of Marseilles will be found to be nearly midway between those of the two rivers mentioned; the latter of which flows into the sea near the Gulf of Spezia.

whereof I was, which erewhile made its port hot with its blood. Folco that people called me to whom my name was known, and this heaven is stamped with me, as was I with it. For the daughter of Belus, who caused hurt both to Sicheus and to Creusa, burned not more than I, so long as it beseemed my hairs; nor that maid of Rhodope, who was deceived by Demophoon, nor Alcides when he had Iole shut

Buggea siede, e la terra ond' io fui,[m]
Che fe del sangue suo già caldo il porto.
Folco mi disse quella gente a cui
Fu noto il nome mio; e questo cielo
Di me s' imprenta, com' io fei di lui:
Chè più non arse la figlia di Belo,
Noiando ed a Sicheo ed a Creusa,
Di me, infin che si convenne al pelo.
Nè quella Rodopea, che delusa 100
Fu da Demofoonte, nè Alcide,

[m] *Brigea Gg.*

92 **Buggea**, called by the French Bougie, in Algiers, lies almost exactly on the meridian of Marseilles, and consequently has its sunrise and sunset at the same time, allowing for the difference of latitude.

93 The allusion is to the defeat inflicted by D. Brutus, in command of Caesar's fleet, upon the Pompeians under L. Nasidius aided by the Massilians, off Marseilles, B.C. 49. (See Bell. Civ. ii. 3–7.) Lucan has described it at great length in the third book of the Pharsalia, which Dante evidently had in mind.

96 **imprenta.** Cf. l. 117; and see iv. 22 sqq.—**fei**, sc. *m' imprentai.*

97 **figlia di Belo**: Dido. The instances, as Philalethes points out, are all of persons who suffered for love; and all, it may be added, from the "Heroides" of Ovid.

99 I.e. until my hair grew grey.

100 **quella Rodopea**: Phyllis. See Ov. Her. Ep. ii.

101 Id. Ep. ix. 25, 26:

Quem non mille ferae, quem non Stheneleius hostis,
Non potuit Juno vincere, vincit Amor.

in his heart. Here however one repents not, but smiles not for the fault, which returns not to the mind, but for the goodness which ordered and foresaw. Here one gazes into the art which makes beautiful with so great affection, and the good is discerned whereby the world on high turns that below. But in order that thou mayest bear away thy wishes all fulfilled which have been born in this sphere, it behoves me to proceed yet further. Thou wouldst know who is in this light, that next to me so sparkles as a ray of sunlight on pure water. Know then that therein Rahab is at peace, and being joined to our order has its seal set upon her in

Quando Iole nel cuore ebbe richiusa.
Non però qui si pente, ma si ride,
Non della colpa, ch' a mente non torna,
Ma del valore ch' ordinò e provvide.
Qui si rimira nell' arte ch' adorna
Con tanto affetto, e discernesi il bene,[n]
Per che il mondo di su quel di giù torna.[o]
Ma perchè le tue voglie tutte piene
Ten porti, che son nate in questa spera, 110
Procedere ancor oltre mi conviene.
Tu vuoi saper chi è in questa lumiera,
Che qui appresso me così scintilla
Come raggio di Sole in acqua mera.
Or sappi, che là entro si tranquilla
Raab, ed a nostr' ordine congiunta,

[n] *Cotanto effetto Gg. Cass. W. Bi.; Con t. eff.* 124 *Land.; Cot. aff.* 3.
[o] *Perch' al m. Ald. Land.*

[103] See note, l. 34.
[106-108] See note at end of this Canto.

the highest rank. By this heaven, in which the shadow that your world makes comes to a point, she was taken up before any other soul in Christ's triumph. Right fitting it was to leave her in any heaven for a palm of the victory which was gained with the one and the other hand, seeing that she favoured the first glory of Joshua upon the Holy Land, whereof the memory little touches the Pope. Thy

Di lui nel sommo grado si sigilla.
Da questo cielo, in cui l' ombra s' appunta
Che il vostro mondo face, pria ch' altr' alma
Del trionfo di Cristo fu assunta. 120
Ben si convenne lei lasciar per palma
In alcun cielo dell' alta vittoria,
Che s' acquistò con l' una e l' altra palma :[p]
Perch' ella favorò la prima gloria
Di Josuè in su la terra santa,
Che poco tocca al Papa la memoria.

[p] *Ch 'esso acq. Gg.* 134; *Che sa acquista* 2.

117 **si sigilla.** I.e. "Ejus imago apparet in summo gradu istius spheræ cujus influentia ipsa impressa fuit." Comm. Gg. reading *di lui*, which I have followed. This seems to give a simpler sense than the usual *lei*, and to avoid the harsh "nominativus pendens" of *congiunta*, which that reading involves. Cf. l. 96; and, for Rahab, Heb. xi. 31.

118 The shadow of the earth was believed to extend as far as the sphere of Venus. The allegorical meaning, as Philalethes points out, is that in the three lower divisions of Paradise are found souls who have been prevented from attaining a higher degree of blessedness by the earthly failings of inconstancy, ambition, and unregulated love.

123 **l' una e l' altra palma.** I.e. the two hands of Christ nailed to the Cross. This is the usual, and not unsatisfactory, explanation.

126 sqq. Compare this digression with that at Purg. vi. 76, and observe that a similar reason, covetousness, is assigned for the neglect of their duty by both Emperor and Pope. The capture of Acre, in

city, which is a plant of him who first turned his back upon his Maker, and whose envy has been so greatly bewailed, brings forth and spreads abroad the accursed flower which has led astray the sheep and the lambs, because it has made a wolf of the shepherd. For this the Gospel and the great Doctors are deserted, and study is given to the Decretals alone, as appears on their margins.

La tua città, che di colui è pianta,
  Che pria volse le spalle al suo fattore,
  E di cu è la invidia tanto pianta,[q]
Produce e spande il maladetto fiore, 130
  Ch' ha disviate le pecore e gli agni,
  Però chè fatto ha lupo del pastore.
Per questo l' Evangelio e i Dottor magni
  Son derelitti, e solo ai Decretali

[q] *inv. tutta quanta* 145.

1291, had driven the Christians from their last foothold in Palestine, and though both Nicolas IV., who was then Pope, and afterwards Boniface VIII., had used some slight efforts to stir up the princes of Christendom to recover it, no serious attempt was ever again made. By the end of the century, indeed, the Pope's attention was fully occupied with the affair of Italy and Sicily.

127 It seems hardly necessary to suppose, with Scartazzini, that Dante intends to identify Mars, as the patron of Florence, with the devil. She is said to be his planting merely because she is given over to envy and avarice. Compare with this whole passage, De Mon. iii. 3.

129 Cf. Inf. i. 111, and observe that it is the "lupa" (see Note to Purg. xx. 10) who is there associated with envy.

130 **fiore.** The lily of Florence, stamped on the *florin.*

132 **lupo.** See above.

133 **Dottor.** Cf. the Epistle to the Italian Cardinals: Jacet Gregorius in telis aranearum; jacet Ambrosius in neglectis clericorum latibulis; jacet Augustinus; abjectus Dionysius, Damascenus et Beda; et nescio quod Speculum, Innocentium et Ostiensem declamant. The last two names are those of commentators on the Decretals, or constitutions and traditions of the Papal See.

To this the Pope and the Cardinals give attention; their thoughts go not to Nazareth, the place where Gabriel opened his wings. But Vatican and the other chosen parts of Rome, which have been a burying-place to the soldiery that followed Peter, shall soon be free from the adultery."

Si studia sì, che pare ai lor vivagni.
A questo intende il Papa e i Cardinali:
Non vanno i lor pensieri a Nazzarette,
Là dove Gabbriello aperse l' ali.
Ma Vaticano e l' altre parti elette
Di Roma, che son state cimitero 140
Alla milizia che Pietro seguette,
Tosto libere fien dell' adultèro.

[135] **ai lor vivagni**: either by the thumbing of them, or the annotations.

[142] **Tosto**: i.e. by the removal to Avignon in 1305. **adultèro** for *adulterio*, as **cimitero** two lines above. The word recalls Purg. xxxii. 160. The last seven lines of this Canto were required by the Spanish Inquisition to be struck out in all copies of the poem introduced within its jurisdiction. A similar compliment was paid to Inf. xi. 8, 9, and xix. 106–118.

NOTE TO LINES 106–108.

There is a good deal of uncertainty about the reading, and consequently about the rendering of these lines. With regard to the reading, opinions are nearly equally divided between *cotanto effetto . . . il mondo*, and *con tanto affetto . . . al mondo*. Gg. Lomb., Witte, Bianchi, Lubin, take the former; Ald., Land., Dan., Bieg., Phil., Scart., the latter. Vellutello holds with the first group, reading *modo*. Giuliani has *con tanto aff.* but *il m.* Of the four early edd., 124 have *con tanto effetto*, and 3 *cotanto affetto*, all with *il mondo*. The objection to *effetto*, as Philalethes points out, is that "to adorn an effect" is an expression not easy to understand; and it may be added, that it has little connection with the general drift of Folco's words,

which are clearly an amplification of what Cunizza has said in ll. 34, 35. This some of the early comm. plainly understood. Thus Comm. Gg. apparently taking "il valor" as the subject of **adorna**, explains **arte** by "sc. generationis," and to the next line has, "i.e. tantam affectionem quanta est in amore decorat tam mirabili affectu," while the earlier Italian annotator interprets **discernesi il bene**, etc., by "cioe quando lomo e namorato nel mondo di vano amore, poi che torna [did he read *poi che* for *perche*?] a dio tutto quel amor mundano si converte a dio." The latter part, which implies the reading *al mondo*, can hardly be right, for it is a well-known law of verse that the same word must not rhyme to itself in the same sense; so that we must seek another meaning for **torna**. Here the Ottimo is better: "gaudesi del valore, che virtù d'amore accese nel cuore degli amanti; e gaudesi quando rimiriamo nell' arte del Cielo, che adornò la nostra affezione; e gaudesi, perchè discerniamo il bene, per lo quale il mondo di sopra torna, gira, e governa il mondo di sotto." There is no need to take the objection of Philalethes that *tornare* in an active sense is unusual. The Ottimo appears to recognise it: "il m. di sopra torna, gira e governa il m. di sotto;" and even if there were no extant examples of it in Italian, the derivation of the word, and its use in the cognate languages are sufficient to show that it must be capable of possessing all the senses of the English "turn." Thus we are led to prefer the reading of Giuliani, "con tanto affetto," with "il mondo." The only fault that can be found with this is the absence of an expressed object to **adorna**; and this can easily be supplied by a slight rearrangement of line 106, "qui si rimira l' arte che n' adorna." With or without this the thought of the passage becomes as clear as it is beautiful. "We feel no repentance for our fault, which indeed we have forgotten; but we contemplate with joy the wonderful order of God's providence, which makes that love wherein we formerly erred an honour to us; and we discern this same love in its highest manifestation, namely, as the power by means of which the whole course of the world is governed." The "mondo di su" is clearly the κόσμος of the Platonic Timaeus; and probably the use of **torna** is to be ascribed to the influence of such passages as (e.g.) 47 B.C. of that dialogue. There does not seem to be any reference to the *rotation* of the earth, of which Dante knew nothing.

CANTO X.

ARGUMENT.

They enter the fourth Heaven, of the Sun. Here are the souls of Doctors and others learned in theology, among them St. Thomas Aquinas, who points out and names such as are at hand.

LOOKING upon His Son, with the Love that the one and the other eternally breathe forth, the first and unspeakable Goodness made all that revolves in mind or in place with

GUARDANDO nel suo Figlio, con l' Amore
Che l' uno e l' altro eternalmente spira,
Lo primo ed ineffabile valore,
Quanto per mente o per loco si gira,[a]

[a] *o per occhio Ald. Land. Giul. etc.*

1-6 S. T. i. Q. 56. A. 6: Deus pater operatus est creaturam per suum Verbum, quod est filius; et per suum Amorem, qui est spiritus sanctus. Ib. Q. 37. A. 2: Pater et Filius dicuntur diligentes Spiritu sancto, vel amore procedente, et se et nos.

4 Most (or all) MSS. and the first 5 edd. read **loco**, "all that can be conceived in the mind, or that has a local existence." I have therefore followed Witte and Scartazzini in adopting this reading; though Land., Ald., Dan., and nearly all subsequent editors have *occhio*, "all things visible." One cannot help suspecting that the true reading is "per tempo o per loco," **mente** having slipped in from some early gloss of *localmente* or the like. Cf. xxvii. 109–120. Thus Augustine on Genesis, quoted S. T. i. Q. 9. A. 1: Spiritus Creator movet se, nec per tempus, nec per locum.

such order that he who observes this cannot be without tasting of Him. Lift then, reader, thy view with me to the wheels on high, straight to that region where the one motion strikes upon the other, and there begin to look with love upon the art of that Master who in Himself loves it so that He never takes His eye away from it. See how thence branches off the oblique circle which bears the planets, to

Con tanto ordine fe, ch' esser non puote[b]
Senza gustar di lui, chi ciò rimira.
Leva dunque, Lettore, all' alte ruote
Meco la vista dritto a quella parte,
Dove l' un moto all' altro si percuote:[c]
E lì comincia a vagheggiar nell' arte 10
Di quel maestro, che dentro a sè l' ama
Tanto che mai da lei l' occhio non parte.
Vedi come da indi si dirama
L' obbliquo cerchio che i pianeti porta,

[b] *Cotanto Gg.* [c] *e l' altro Gg.* 1235 *W.*; *l' altre* 4.

5 **ordine.** Cf. i. 103.

7 **alte ruote**; so *superne r.* Purg. viii. 18; *r. magne*, xix. 63; *eterne r.* Par. i. 64.

9 I.e. where the diurnal motion from east to west meets the motion of the heavenly bodies in the Ecliptic from west to east, viz. where the Ecliptic crosses the Equator; that is the Equinox, near to which, as we know, the Sun now was.

14-21 See Ar. de Gen. et Corr. ii. 9: Οὐχ ἡ πρώτη φορὰ αἰτία ἐστὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς, ἀλλ' ἡ κατὰ τὸν λοξὸν κύκλον, and the whole chapter. The ascription of great importance to the obliquity of the ecliptic as a regulator of human affairs seems to have been based upon the fact that the seasons depend upon it, and that growth and decay follow the seasons; from which it naturally followed that all processes of change were influenced by the same cause. See note to i. 38.

satisfy the world which calls upon them. And if their road had not been bent, much virtue in the heaven had been in vain, and well-nigh every potency here below dead. And if from the right line the departure had been more or less far, much of the order of the world had been lacking both below and above. Now stay thee, reader, on thy bench, setting thy thoughts after that whereof a foretaste is given, if thou wilt be right glad before thou art weary.

Per satisfare al mondo, che gli chiama:
E se la strada lor non fosse torta,[d]
Molta virtù nel Ciel sarebbe invano,
E quasi ogni potenzia quaggiù morta.
E se dal dritto più o men lontano[e]
Fosse il partire, assai sarebbe manco 20
E giù e su dell' ordine mondano.
Or ti riman, Lettor, sovra il tuo banco,
Dietro pensando a ciò che si preliba,
S' esser vuoi lieto assai prima che stanco.

[d] *Che se la str. di lor* (*non* added) *Gg.*
[e] *da dritto* 3 *W.; da dietro* 145; *da drieto Cass.*

[15] **chiama,** as in I. 43. "Qui indiget necessario," Comm. Gg.

[17, 18] Conv. ii. 15: Se la revoluzione di questo [il cielo cristallino] non ordinasse ciò, poco di loro virtù quaggiù verrebbe, o di loro vista. . . . . Di vero non sarebbe quaggiù generazione nè vita d' animale e di piante . . . . e 'l movimento degli astri sarebbe indarno. **Virtù, potenzia.** Observe that heaven is the seat of form, *εἶδος*, and earth of matter, *ὕλη*. But, as we learn from De Animâ ii. 2, *εἶδος* is *ἐντελέχεια*, *ὕλη* is *δύναμις*. It is clear therefore that in this passage, as elsewhere in Dante, **virtù** comes very near in meaning to Aristotle's *ἐνέργεια*, and must not be confounded with the *virtus* = *potentia* of the schoolmen. See note to Purg. iv. 1–6.

[24] Cf. Conv. iii. 5: A chi ha nobile ingegno è bello un poco di fatica lasciare; and Ar. Met. *a.* 2 (982 a): *εἶτα* [*ὑπολαμβάνομεν*]

I have set before thee: henceforth feed of thyself; since that matter whereof I am made a scribe wrests to itself all my care.

The greatest minister of nature, that stamps the world with the goodness of heaven, and with his light measures our time for us, in conjunction with that region which is mentioned above was turning through the coils in which he presents himself ever sooner; and I was with him, but of the ascent I was not aware otherwise than a man is aware before his first thought, of its coming.

Beatrice is she who thus escorts from good to better so

Messo t' ho innanzi; omai per te ti ciba:
  Che a sè ritorce tutta la mia cura
  Quella materia ond' io son fatto scriba.
Lo ministro maggior della natura,
  Che del valor del Cielo il mondo imprenta
  E col suo lume il tempo ne misura, 30
Con quella parte che su si rammenta,
  Congiunto si girava per le spire,
  In che più tosto ognora s' appresenta;
Ed io era con lui; ma del salire
  Non m' accors' io, se non com' uom s' accorge,[f]
  Anzi il primo pensier, del suo venire.
È Beatrice quella che sì scorge[g]

[f] *come s' acc. Gg.* [g] *O Beatrice Gg. Cass.* 12345.

τὸν τὰ χαλεπὰ γνωναι δυνάμενον καὶ μὴ ῥᾴδια ἀνθρώπῳ γινώσκειν, τοῦτον σοφόν.

25 Cf. Purg. xvii. 139.

28 The Sun, into whose sphere they now ascend.

31-33 That is, the Sun was at the equinox (l. 9), and the vernal equinox, when he rises earlier every day. Cf. Conv. iii. 5.

37, 39 I have followed all the modern editors in reading **è**, and placing a full stop at **sporge**; but the older reading given by Ald., Land., etc.,

quickly that her action is not spread over time. How bright must needs be of itself that which was within the Sun, where I entered, being apparent not by colour but by light, though I called upon my wit and my art and my wont I could not say so that it could ever be imagined: but one can believe it, and let him long to see it. And if our fancies are low beside so great a height, it is no marvel, for above the Sun never was eye that might go.

Such was there the fourth household of the Father on high who ever satisfies them, showing how He breathes

Di bene in meglio sì subitamente,
Che l' atto suo per tempo non si sporge.
Quant' esser convenia da sè lucente 40
Quel ch' era dentro al Sol dov' io entra' mi,
Non per color, ma per lume parvente.
Perch' io lo ingegno e l' arte e l' uso chiami,
Sì nol direi, che mai s' immaginasse;
Ma creder puossi, e di veder si brami.
E se le fantasie nostre son basse
A tanta altezza, non è maraviglia;[h]
Chè sovra il sol non fu occhio ch' andasse.
Tal era quivi la quarta famiglia
Dell' alto padre che sempre la sazia, 50
Mostrando come spira e come figlia.

[h] *non c' è m. Gg.*

et . . . sporge, . . . lucente! does not give an unsatisfactory sense, and is perhaps more in Dante's manner.

41 **Quel**: i.e. the spirits who were bright enough to be apparent in the Sun. They are the spirits of theologians.

43 **perchè**, as in Purg. v. 58, etc.

51 The allusion is to the doctrine of the Trinity, which, as the central subject of Christian theology, is here made plain to those who

forth and how He begets. And Beatrice began: "Give thanks, give thanks to the Sun of the angels, who has through his grace raised thee to this which sense perceives." Heart of man was never so prepared for devotion and for giving itself to God with all its desire so ready as at those words I became; and all my love so set itself on Him that it eclipsed Beatrice in oblivion. It displeased her not; but she smiled thereat so that the splendour of her smiling eyes divided my mind, which was at one, between many

E Beatrice cominciò: Ringrazia,
  Ringrazia il Sol degli Angeli, ch' a questo
  Sensibil t' ha levato per sua grazia.
Cuor di mortal non fu mai sì digesto
  A divozione, ed a rendersi a Dio[i]
  Con tutto il suo gradir cotanto presto,
Com' a quelle parole mi fec' io:
  E sì tutto il mio amore in lui si mise,
  Che Beatrice eclissò nell' obblio. 60
Non le dispiacque: ma sì se ne rise,
  Che lo splendor degli occhi suoi ridenti
  Mia mente unita in più cose divise.

[i] *di rend. Gg.*

have most deeply studied. Observe the connection with the opening lines of the Canto.

53, 54 Cf. Conv. iii. 12: Siccome nella litterale sposizione si parla cominciando dal Sole corporale e sensibile; così ora è da ragionare per lo Sole spirituale e intelligibile, ch' è Iddio. Nullo sensibile in tutto 'l mondo è più degno di farsi esempio di Dio, che 'l Sole, etc. This and the subsequent chapters will explain why the sphere of the Sun is the appropriate abode for the theologians.

61 **se ne rise.** For the reflexive use cf. Purg. v. 135; ix. 36. It is of course quite different from the passive impersonal *si ride* in l. 103 of the last Canto.

things. I saw many living and victorious splendours make of us a centre and of themselves a ring, more sweet yet in voice than brilliant in appearance. Thus girt we see at times the daughter of Latona, when the air is so teeming that it retains the thread which makes her zone. In the court of heaven whence I return are found many jewels so dear and fair that they cannot be taken out of the realm, and the song of those lights was of them; he that does not plume himself so that he may fly there on high, from the dumb let him look for news from thence. Then, singing thus, those blazing Suns whirled round about us three times, like stars close to motionless poles. They seemed

Io vidi più fulgor vivi e vincenti
  Far di noi centro, e di sè far corona,
  Più dolci in voce, che in vista lucenti.[k]
Così cinger la figlia di Latona
  Vedem tal volta, quando l' aere è pregno,
  Sì che ritenga il fil che fa la zona.
Nella corte del Ciel ond' io rivegno, 70
  Si truovan molte gioie care e belle
  Tanto che non si posson trar del regno.
E il canto di quei lumi era di quelle:
  Chi non s' impenna sì che lassù voli,
  Dal muto aspetti quindi le novelle.
Poi sì cantando quegli ardenti Soli
  Si fur girati intorno a noi tre volte,
  Come stelle vicine a fermi poli.

[k] *a vista Gg.*

64 It seems most simple to take **vincenti** as a mere epithet.

67-69 So Purg. xxv. 91, xxix. 78. The halo appears when the air is full of vapour.

72 **trar del regno**: "cioè, non può ingegno humano comprenderlo se non è in cielo."—Land.

to me dames not loosed from the dance, but who should halt silently, listening until they have caught the new notes; and within one I heard begin: "Since the ray of grace, whereat true love is kindled, and which afterward grows by loving, shines forth in thee so multiplied that it leads thee up by that stair where none descends without mounting again; he who should deny thee the wine of his cup for thy thirst would not be in a state of liberty otherwise than as water which should not fall to the sea. Thou wouldst know from what plants this garland is enflowered, which all

Donne mi parver non da ballo sciolte,
  Ma che s' arrestin tacite, ascoltando 80
  Fin che le nuove note hanno ricolte:[l]
E dentro all' un sentii cominciar: Quando
  Lo raggio della grazia, onde s' accende[m]
  Verace amore, e che poi cresce amando,
Multiplicato in te tanto risplende,
  Che ti conduce su per quella scala,
  U' senza risalir nessun discende:
Qual ti negasse il vin della sua fiala
  Per la tua sete, in libertà non fora,
  Se non com' acqua, ch' al mar non si cala. 90
Tu vuoi saper di quai piante s' infiora
  Questa ghirlanda, che intorno vagheggia

[l] *rote* 145. [m] *in che s' acc. Gg.; ondel s' acc.* 14; *onde saprende* 3.

81 The image is that of dancers who pause for a moment as the measure changes, in order to "pick up," as we should say, the new time.

82 **un.** St. Thomas Aquinas, see l. 99. **Quando**, in a causal sense, is not very common in Italian; see Diez iii. 324. But cf. Purg. xxxi. 67. For the idea expressed in the following lines cf. Purg. xiv. 79, 80; xvi. 40 sqq.

87 Cf. Purg. ii. 91. There may be an allusion to Eph. iv. 9, 10.

around is looking with love on the fair Lady who strengthens thee for heaven. I was of the lambs of the holy flock which Dominic leads upon the way, where one fattens well if one turns not to vanities. This who is my neighbour on the right was brother and master to me, and he is Albert of Cologne, and I Thomas of Aquino. If thou wouldst so be

La bella donna ch' al Ciel t' avvalora.
Io fui degli agni della santa greggia,
Che Domenico mena per cammino,
U' ben s' impingua, se non si vaneggia.[n]
Questi che m' è a destra più vicino,
Frate e maestro fummi; ed esso Alberto
È di Cologna, ed io Thomas d' Aquino.

[n] *Due ben Gg.; Du ben* 134.

92, 93 Beatrice in her allegorical sense, is Philosophy, which, as Dante understood it, was identical with Theology. Therefore the circle of theologians (whom St. Thomas is about to name one by one) are rightly described as looking with love upon her.

96 "I.e. in qua regula impinguat animae pinguedo non carnis," and "i.e. si non vacatur vanitati mundanae, sunt enim praedicatores totaliter gloriosi, vacantes honori."—Comm. Gg.

98 Albert the Great, the "Universal Doctor," was born 1193 at Lauingen on the upper Danube. He joined the Dominican order, studied at Padua, taught at Paris and Cologne, was for a short time Bishop of Ratisbon, and died at Cologne 1280. He appears to have been the first of the schoolmen who brought the Aristotelian and Christian philosophy into harmony; and it is to him originally that Dante owes his doctrine of free-will as the basis of Ethics.

99 Thomas, the "Angelical Doctor," and the greatest of all scholastic philosophers, was born 1225, the son of a Count of Aquino, and on his mother's side of Norman blood. He studied first at Monte Cassino, afterwards at Cologne under Albert, and at Paris. For his death, see note to Purg. xx. 69. In all matters of ethical and metaphysical doctrine, Dante is his disciple. His "Summa Theologica" marks the highest point attained by philosophy in the Middle Age. He was canonised in 1323, by Pope John XXII. (Villani ix. 218.)

informed of all the others, come thy way with thy glance after my speech, turning upward through the wreath of the blessed. That other flaming issues from the smile of Gratian, who so aided one and the other court, that he gives pleasure in Paradise. The other who next adorns our choir was that Peter who with the poor woman offered his treasure to Holy Church. The fifth light, which is most beautiful among us, breathes of such love that all the world

Se sì di tutti gli altri esser vuoi certo,[o] 100
Diretro al mio parlar ten vien col viso,
Girando su per lo beato serto.
Quell' altro fiammeggiare esce del riso
Di Grazian, che l' uno e l' altro foro
Aiutò sì, che piace in Paradiso.[p]
L' altro ch' appresso adorna il nostro coro,
Quel Pietro fu, che con la poverella
Offerse a santa Chiesa il suo Tesoro.
La quinta luce, ch' è tra noi più bella,
Spira di tale amor, che tutto il mondo 110

[o] *Se tu Ald. Bi. Giul.* [p] *che pare in P. Gg.*

104 Gratian of Bologna "published about the year 1140 his Decretum, or general collection of canons, Papal epistles, and sentences of fathers, in imitation of the Pandects."—Hallam, Middle Ages. His work seems to have been the great mediaeval authority on canon law. "Composuit decretum ad utrumque forum canonicum et civilem respiciens." —P. di Dante.

107 Peter, born near Novara, and hence called "the Lombard," was a pupil of Abelard. From the title of his chief work, he is known as "the Master of the Sentences." He became Archbishop of Paris, and died 1164. The allusion is to a phrase in his preface, "cupientes aliquid de tenuitate nostra cum paupercula in gazophylacium Domini mittere."

109 **La quinta luce**: Solomon; as to whose ultimate salvation there was in the Middle Age much controversy, the pictorial representatio n

below is greedy to know news of it. Within is the lofty mind where wisdom so profound was put, that if the truth is true, to a like vision no second has arisen. Next behold the light of that taper which, below in flesh, saw most inwardly the nature of angels and their office. In the other little light rejoices that Advocate of the Christian times, of whose

Laggiù ne gola di saper novella.
Entro v' è l' alta mente, u' sì profondo[q]
Saver fu messo, che se il vero è vero,
A veder tanto non surse il secondo.
Appresso vedi il lume di quel cero,
Che giuso in carne più addentro vide
L' angelica natura e il ministero.
Nell' altra piccioletta luce ride
Quel avvocato de' tempi cristiani,[r]

[q] *l' alta luce Gg. Ald. Land.; nel alta mente un si prof.* 3; *nel altra m. un* 14. [r] *templi* 14 *Ald.*

of which will be familiar to every one who has visited the Campo Santo of Pisa. According to Philalethes, Hugh of St. Victor found in the three works ascribed to Solomon affinities with the three branches of speculative science, as then understood; Ethics in Proverbs, Physics in Ecclesiastes, Theology in Canticles.

113 **il vero**: probably meaning God's word. See 1 Kings iii. 12.

115 Dionysius the Areopagite, to whom works on the Celestial Hierarchy (see xxviii. 130), on the Names of God, on Symbolical and on Mystic Theology, all belonging probably to the latter half of the fifth century (see Ueberweg), were ascribed.

119 There is some controversy as to the person intended here. The most usual, and on the whole most satisfactory, view is that Paulus Orosius, the historian, is meant. His "History against the Pagans" appears to have been written at the suggestion of St. Augustine in order to contradict the view that the introduction of Christianity had been mischievous to mankind; and thus to be subsidiary to Augustine's "De Civitate Dei." Dante praises his style, Vulg. El. ii. 6. His

Latin Augustin furnished himself. Now if thou drawest the eye of thy mind from light to light after my praises, thou art by this time staying with a thirst for the eighth. Therewithin rejoices for the vision of all good the holy soul which makes clear the deceitful world to whoso hearkens

Del cui latino Agostin si provvide. 120
Or se tu l' occhio della mente trani
Di luce in luce dietro alle mie lode,
Già dell' ottava con sete rimani:
Per veder ogni ben dentro vi gode
L' anima santa, che il mondo fallace
Fa manifesto a chi di lei ben ode:

"light" is smaller than that of the great theologians. Other claimants to the place are St. Ambrose (who is quite out of the question) and the rhetorician Lactantius. No one seems to have suggested Victorinus, in whose *Latin* translation St. Augustine tells us (Conf. viii. 2) that he read Plato. The account there given of his conversion, and the manner in which his objection to enter Christian churches was overcome, lends some plausibility to the reading *templi* in l. 119. Victorinus seems to have been a man of some mark; for Boethius commented on his translation of Porphyry's "Eisagoge." The fact, however, that Dante does not mention him elsewhere, while he refers more than once to Orosius, makes the claim of the latter more probable.

124 Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, statesman and philosopher, was born A.D. 470. (This appears to have the best authority, though some put his birth in 455. But the chronology of his life is somewhat confused.) He studied at Athens, translated or commented on Euclid, Plato, Aristotle, Porphyry, etc., and was consul in 520. Later he fell under the displeasure of Theodoric, and was imprisoned at Pavia, where he wrote his best-known work, "The Consolation of Philosophy," a book which had a very high reputation in the Middle Age. Aquinas and Dante constantly refer to it, and King Alfred translated (or rather paraphrased) it into English. He was put to death, by torture, in 524; and was buried in the church (now desecrated), called St. Peter's of the Golden Ceiling. (See, for a full account of him, Gibbon, chap. xxxix.)

well to it. The body whence it was chased lies down in Cieldauro, and it from torture and exile came to this peace. Beyond see flaming the ardent spirit of Isidore, of Bede, and of Richard who in contemplation was more than man. This one, from whom thy gaze returns to me, is the light of a spirit who in his weighty thoughts deemed that dying was long-delayed. That is the eternal light of Sigier, who

Lo corpo ond' ella fu cacciata giace
  Giuso in Cieldauro, ed essa da martiro
  E da esiglio venne a questa pace.
Vedi oltre fiammeggiar l' ardente spiro 130
  D' Isidoro, di Beda, e di Riccardo,
  Che a considerar fu più che viro.
Questi onde a me ritorna il tuo riguardo,
  È il lume d' uno spirto, che in pensieri
  Gravi a morire gli parve esser tardo.
Essa è la luce eterna di Sigieri,

131 Isidore, Bishop of Seville (died 636), followed Boethius in his treatment of logic, as Bede ("the Venerable," 673–735) followed Isidore. It is, of course, rather as eminent theologians that both have their place here. Richard, Prior from 1164 to 1173 of the Monastery of St. Victor, near Paris, from which several famous theologians took their name (see Canto xii. 133), maintained the mystical, as opposed to the dialectical, treatment of the science. Hence probably the allusion in l. 132. According to Bianchi, he was a Scotsman.

134, 135 **che—gli** = "*cui*"; or "tale" may be understood before **che. a morire**, like the *a riguardar* of Purg. iv. 54.

136 Sigier of Brabant was Dean of Courtray, and afterwards lectured on logic at the Sorbonne, in Paris, towards the end of the thirteenth century. He appears to have been tried for heresy in 1278, in consequence of an offer to defend, among other "impossibilia," a thesis of the non-existence of God. Unless, however, we may take **veri** to mean merely "proofs," l. 138 can hardly refer to this. Some think that Dante may himself have heard Sigier lecture.

lecturing in the street of straw deduced truths which brought him envy."

Then, like a clock, which calls us at the hour when the bride of God arises to sing mattins to her spouse, that he may love her, where the one side and the other draws and drives, sounding '*ting ting*' with so sweet a note, that the spirit well-disposed swells with love, so saw I the glorious wheel move itself, and return voice to voice in harmony and in sweetness that cannot be known save in that place where joy is everlasting.

Che leggendo nel vico degli strami,
Sillogizzò invidiosi veri.
Indi come orologio, che ne chiami
Nell' ora che la sposa di Dio surge 140
A mattinar lo sposo, perchè l' ami;
Che l' una parte e l' altra tira ed urge,[s]
Tin tin sonando con sì dolce nota,
Che il ben disposto spirto d' amor turge:
Così vid' io la gloriosa ruota
Muoversi e render voce a voce in tempra
Ed in dolcezza, ch' esser non può nota,
Se non colà dove il gioir s' insempra.

[s] *parte l' altra Gg. 2 W. Giul.*

137 **degli strami.** The Rue du Fouarre.

139 **orologio,** doubtless with allusion to the *twelve* spirits who have been pointed out.

CANTO XI.

ARGUMENT.

St. Thomas proceeds to narrate the holy life of St. Francis; and then shows how his own successors in the Order of St. Dominic have gone astray from the right path.

O SENSELESS care of mortals! how faulty syllogisms are they which make thee beat thy wings in downward course! One was going after law, and another after aphorisms, and another following a priesthood, and one to reign by force or sophisms, and another to rob, and another at business of state, another wrapped up in the delight of the flesh was

O INSENSATA cura dei mortali,
  Quanto son difettivi sillogismi
  Quei che ti fanno in basso batter l' ali!
Chi dietro a jura, e chi ad aforismi
  Sen giva, e chi seguendo sacerdozio,
  E chi regnar per forza e per sofismi,
E chi rubare, e chi civil negozio;
  Chi nel diletto della carne involto

[4] **aforismi.** The "Aphorisms" of Hippocrates were among the great medical authorities of the time. In this and the following line therefore, the three "learned professions," Law, Physic, Divinity, are alluded to.

growing weary, and another was giving himself to ease; when I, set loose from all these things, was with Beatrice being welcomed with so great glory in heaven above.

After that each had returned to the point of the circle in which he was before, he stayed, as in a candlestick a candle. And I was aware that within that light which first had spoken to me, smiling he began, as it grew more clear: "Like as I am inflamed at its ray, so, gazing on the eternal light, I learn whence thou takest occasion for thy thoughts. Thou doubtest, and hast desire that my word be sifted again for thee in language so open and so drawn out that

S' affaticava, e chi si dava all' ozio:
Quand' io da tutte queste cose sciolto, 10
Con Beatrice m' era suso in cielo
Cotanto gloriosamente accolto.
Poichè ciascuno fu tornato ne lo
Punto del cerchio in che avanti s' era,
Fermossi come a candelier candelo.[a]
Ed io senti' dentro a quella lumiera,
Che pria m' avea parlato, sorridendo
Incominciar, facendosi più mera:
Così com' io del suo raggio m' accendo,
Sì riguardando nella luce eterna 20
Li tuoi pensieri, onde cagioni, apprendo;[b]
Tu dubbi, ed hai voler che si ricerna[c]
In sì aperta e sì distesa lingua

[a] *Fermarsi Gg.* [b] *cagion Gg. Cass.; cagione* 1234; *io cagione Land.*
[c] *discerna* 124 *W.; dicerna* 3.

[17, 14] Notice the reflexive forms **m' era, s' era.** The first may have the sense of the middle voice, "was getting myself welcomed."

[22] **ricerna.** "*Cernere e ricernere* diconsi del grano."—Lomb. It is obviously the right word here.

it may be levelled to thy understanding, where I said before 'Where one fattens well' and where I said 'The second has not arisen'; and here it is needful that a clear distinction be made. The foresight which guides the world with that counsel in which every created sight is overcome before it reach the depths, in order that to her beloved might go the spouse of Him who to loud cries espoused her with His blessed blood, secure in herself and in Him

Lo dicer mio, ch' al tuo sentir si sterna :
Ove dinanzi dissi : *U' ben s' impingua,*[d]
E là, u' dissi : *Non surse il secondo :*[e]
E qui c' è uopo che ben si distingua.
La provvidenza che governa il mondo
Con quel consiglio, nel qual ogni aspetto
Creato è vinto, pria che vada al fondo ; 30
Però chè andasse ver lo suo diletto[f]
La sposa di colui, ch' ad alte grida
Disposò lei col sangue benedetto,

[d] *o ben Gg. ; un ben* 124.
[e] *non nacque* 1234 *Ald. Land.* (*and many MSS.*). [f] *Pero chi Gg.*

[25] **U' ben s' impingua.** L. 96 of the last Canto. It is difficult to see why these words should have given rise to any doubt in Dante's mind. Their meaning is clear enough; and probably St. Thomas is made to refer to them only in order to give occasion for the magnificent eulogy of St. Francis which follows. Observe that while he, a Dominican, is made to recite the praises of St. Francis, a similar duty in regard to St. Dominic is discharged in the next Canto by the Franciscan Bonaventura.

[26] **Non surse il secondo.** L. 114 of the last Canto. The solution will be found in Canto xiii. The reading *nacque*, though it has much MSS. authority, can hardly be anything but an intruding gloss.

[27] I have followed Gg. in reading **c' è**, to avoid an awkward conjunction of open vowels.

[32] **sposa :** the Church. **ad alte grida :** on the Cross.

more confident, ordained two Princes in her favour to be on one side and on the other a guide to her. The one was all seraphic in ardour, the other for wisdom was upon earth a splendour of cherubic light. I will speak of one, because both are spoken of in praising one, whichever a man takes, since to one end were their works.

"Between Tupino and the water that descends from the

In sè sicura e anco a lui più fida;
Due principi ordinò in suo favore,
Che quinci e quindi le fosser per guida.
L' un fu tutto serafico in ardore,
L' altro per sapienza in terra fue
Di cherubica luce uno splendore.
Dell' un dirò, però chè d' ambedue 40
Si dice l' un pregiando, qual ch' uom prende,[g]
Perchè ad un fine fur l' opere sue.
Intra Tupino e l' acqua che discende

[g] *lhuom pregiando* 2; *qual hom pr. Gg.*; *qual comprende Cass.*

37-39 He indicates here the distinctive characters of each of the two great Orders, which they have more or less maintained ever since. The Franciscans have attended more to good works, the Dominicans to doctrine. The parallel with the two orders of angels is based on the interpretation which was then current. See S. T. i. Q. 63. A. 7: Cherubim interpretatur plenitudo scientiae; Seraphim autem interpretatur ardentes . . . ab ardore charitatis. And Q. 103. A. 5: Cherubim habent excellentiam scientiae, Seraphim vero excellentiam ardoris. See too Villani v. 25: La Chiesa di Dio cadea per molti errori, e per molti dissoluti peccati, non temendo Iddio; e 'l beato Domenico per la sua santa scienza e predicazione li corresse . . . ; e 'l beato Francesco per la sua umilità e vita apostolica e di penitenzia corresse la vita lascibile, etc.

43 sqq. The career of St. Francis is here described. For the history, Sir James Stephen's essay and the note of Philalethes may be read with advantage. Francis (so named, apparently, because his father was

hill chosen by the blessed Ubaldo, a fertile slope hangs from a lofty mountain, whence Perugia feels cold and heat on the side of Porta Sole, and behind it Nocera and Gualdo bewail for a grievous yoke. Of that slope, at the point

Del colle eletto dal beato Ubaldo,[h]
Fertile costa d' alto monte pende,
Onde Perugia sente freddo e caldo
Da Porta Sole, e diretro le piange
Per greve giogo Nocera con Gualdo.
Di quella costa là dov' ella frange

[h] *collo Gg.*

absent in France when he was born; at all events he seems to have been the first person who bore the name as a Christian name) was born in 1182 at Assisi in Umbria. His father, Peter Bernardone, was a well-to-do merchant, and Francis was brought up as a young man of fashion, and took part in deeds of arms. He was about twenty-five when he devoted himself to religion. In 1209 he went to Rome; and Innocent III., who seems at first to have treated him coldly, soon perceived his value as a champion of the Church at a time when she was hard pressed by the power of the Empire, and the growing tendency to free-thought. Francis and his companions were recognised as preachers; but it was left for Honorius III. in 1223 to establish the Order formally. In 1226 St. Francis died. Assisi stands on the S.W. slope of Monte Subasio, which lies between the streams Tupino and Chiassi; the latter coming down from the neighbourhood of Gubbio, of which St. Ubaldo was Bishop.

46, 47 Porta Sole is the gate of Perugia on the side of Assisi. The mountain makes it hot in summer and cold in winter.

48 Nocera (not to be confounded with N. in Apulia) and Gualdo Tadino are in the upper valley of the Tupino, on the E. side of the ridge of Monte Subasio. Some—e.g. Comm. Gg. ("i.e. montem"), Pietro di Dante, and Vell.—take the **greve giogo** to be this ridge, and understand the allusion as being to their inhospitable position. But it is more likely that it refers to their political subjection to the Guelfs of Perugia. (They could not have fallen into the power of Robert till later than this.)

where it most breaks its steepness, was born to the world a Sun, as this one is at times of the Ganges. So that whoso talks of that place, let him not say Ascesi, which would tell a brief tale, but Orient, if he would say it aright. He was not yet very far from his rising when he began to make the earth feel some strengthening from his great virtue, since for such lady's sake a youth he ran upon his father's enmity, that to her, as to death, none unlocks the gate of pleasure: and in presence of his spiritual court *et coram*

Più sua rattezza, nacque al mondo un Sole, 50
Come fa questo tal volta di Gange.
Però chi d' esso loco fa parole,
Non dica Ascesi, che direbbe corto,[i]
Ma Oriente, se proprio dir vuole.
Non era ancor molto lontan dall' orto,
Chè cominciò a far sentir la terra
Della sua gran virtude alcun conforto;
Chè per tal donna giovinetto in guerra
Del padre corse, a cui, com' alla morte,
La porta del piacer nessun disserra: 60
E dinanzi alla sua spirital corte,
Et coram patre le si fece unito,

[i] *torto Gg.* (alt. from *corto*) *Cass.*

51 **questo**: that in whose sphere they now are.

53 **Ascesi.** The old pronunciation of Assisi; of course with a play on *ascesi*, "I rose."

58 **donna**: Poverty; see l. 74. St. Francis, in his first essays of the ascetic life, had to face the strenuous opposition of his father, who had formed ambitious plans for his career, and who seems to have gone so far as to prosecute his son before the Bishop for squandering his money in charity. Francis gave up all that he had, even to his clothing, which the Bishop was compelled to replace from his own robes. Hence the allusion in l. 61.

patre he became united to her; afterward from day to day he loved her more strongly. She, bereaved of her first husband, eleven hundred years and more despised and obscure, until his time remained without wooing; nor did it avail to hear that he who made all the world afraid found her in safety with Amyclas at the sound of his voice; nor did it avail to have been constant and brave, so that where Mary remained below, she with Christ wept upon the cross. But that I may not proceed too darkly, from this time take

Poscia di dì in dì l' amò più forte.
Questa, privata del primo marito,
Mille e cent' anni e più dispetta e scura
Fino a costui si stette senza invito:
Nè valse udir, che la trovò sicura
Con Amiclate, al suon della sua voce,
Colui ch' a tutto il mondo fe paura:
Nè valse esser costante, nè feroce, 70
Sì che dove Maria rimase giuso,
Ella con Cristo pianse in su la croce.[k]
Ma perch' io non proceda troppo chiuso;

[k] *salse in su Ald. Land. Bi. Giul. etc.*

[64] **primo marito.** Christ.

[68] See the description in Lucan, Phars. v. 504 sqq., of Caesar's visit to the hut of the fisherman Amyclas; and especially ll. 526–531:

Securus belli, praedam civilibus armis
Scit non esse casas. O vitae tuta facultas
Pauperis, angustique lares! o munera nondum
Intellecta deum! Quibus hoc contingere templis
Aut potuit muris, nullo trepidare tumultu,
Caesarea pulsante manu?

It is interesting to observe how ll. 527, 528, evidently suggested the form of l. 82 of this Canto. See Conv. iv. 13, where the same passage is quoted.

in my diffuse speech Francis and Poverty for these lovers. Their concord and their joyous visages made love and wonder and sweet looks to be the occasion of holy thoughts: so that the venerable Bernard first unshod himself, and hastened after so great peace, and hastening thought it was too slow. O unknown riches, O fertile good! Egidius unshoes himself, and Silvester, following the bridegroom; so pleasing is the bride. Then that father and master went on his way, with his Lady, and with that family which

Francesco e Povertà per questi amanti[l]
Prendi oramai nel mio parlar diffuso.
La lor concordia e i lor lieti sembianti
Amore e maraviglia e dolce sguardo
Faceano esser cagion dei pensier santi:
Tanto che il venerabile Bernardo
Si scalzò prima, e dietro a tanta pace 80
Corse, e correndo gli parv' esser tardo.
O ignota ricchezza, o ben ferace![m]
Scalzasi Egidio e scalzasi Silvestro[n]
Dietro allo sposo, sì la sposa piace.
Indi sen va quel padre e quel maestro
Con la sua donna, e con quella famiglia

[l] *di questi Gg.* [m] *verace* 14 *Ald. Land. Bi. Giul.*
[n] *Scalzossi — scalzossi Cass.;* om. *e Gg. Cass. W.*

79 Bernard of Quintavalle was the first disciple of St. Francis. He was a wealthy man, who having at first distrusted the saint, when convinced of his sincerity, put himself under his direction, sold his possessions, and embraced the rule of poverty. After the founder's death, he became the head of the Order.

83 Egidius, another wealthy man, and Sylvester, a priest, were also among the earliest followers of the new brotherhood.

already the halter of humility tied; nor did cowardice of heart weigh down his brow, for being son of Peter Bernardone, nor for seeming wondrously despised. But in royal wise he disclosed his stern intention to Innocent, and from him had a first seal to his Order. After that the poor humble folk had increased, following him, whose wondrous life was better to be chanted to the glory of heaven, the holy desire of this head shepherd of his flock was crowned with a second diadem by the eternal spirit through Honorius.

Che già legava l' umile capestro:
Nè gli gravò viltà di cuor le ciglia,
Per esser fi' di Pietro Bernardone,°
Nè per parer dispetto a maraviglia. 90
Ma regalmente sua dura intenzione
Ad Innocenzio aperse, e da lui ebbe
Primo sigillo a sua religione.
Poi che la gente poverella crebbe
Dietro a costui, la cui mirabil vita
Meglio in gloria del ciel si canterebbe;[p]
Di seconda corona redimita
Fu per Onorio dall' eterno spiro
La santa voglia d' esto archimandrita:

° *figlio a Gg.* p om. *maglio Gg.*

87 The cord about the waist was, and is, the distinctive mark of the Franciscans, whence they are also called Cordeliers. Cf. Inf. xxvii. 92, 93.

89 Not, I think, as most say, because he was the son of a man of poor family; since in the first place his father seems to have been a well-to-do burgher, and further, questions of family pride would be out of place here; but rather, because he was the son of a father who had cast him off.

93 **religione,** much as in Purg. xxi. 41.

And after that, in his thirst for martyrdom, he had preached Christ and the rest who followed Him, in the proud presence of the Sultan, and through finding the folk too unripe for conversion, and not to stand in vain, had returned to the harvest of the Italian crop; on the raw rock, between Tiber and Arno, he received from Christ the last seal,

E poi che per la sete del martiro, 100
Nella presenza del Soldan superba
Predicò Cristo, e gli altri che il seguiro;
E per trovare a conversione acerba
Troppo la gente, e per non stare indarno,
Reddissi al frutto dell' Italica erba;[q]
Nel crudo sasso intra Tevere ed Arno
Da Cristo prese l' ultimo sigillo,

[q] *Rendessi Gg.; Rendesi Cass.; Reddussi* 4.

100 In 1219 St. Francis joined the crusading army before Damietta, and after their defeat (which he foretold) succeeded in making his way into the camp of the Saracens, where he was courteously received by the Sultan, and sent back uninjured.

102 **gli altri che il seguiro.** The form of the sentence would seem to require these words to be taken, as they usually have been, together with **Cristo,** in the sense of "Christ and His followers," though it is hard to believe that Dante would have spoken of preaching the *followers* of Christ. If we take it as part of the subject to **predicò,** there is the difficulty that St. Francis seems to have had only one follower on this occasion: but Dante may have confused the details with those of his visit to Spain a few years previously, when he was certainly accompanied by several brethren.

103 **acerba.** Cf. *crude* in ix. 48.

106 sqq. The legend of St. Francis's reception of the *stigmata* is too well known to need repetition. It is said to have occurred in 1224 on Monte Alvernia in the Casentino, near the (still existing) monastery which the saint himself had founded.

107 **ultimo:** with reference to ll. 93, 97.

which his members carried for two years. When it pleased Him who allotted him to so great good to draw him on high to the reward which he earned in making himself of small stature, to his brethren as to just heirs he commended his dearest lady, and commanded that they should love her faithfully; and from her bosom he wished to send forth his illustrious soul, returning to its own kingdom; and to his body he would no other bier. Think now of what sort was he, who was a worthy colleague to hold the bark of Peter on the high sea for a mark right ahead; and this our patriarch was, because whoso follows him as he

Che le sue membra du' anni portarno.
Quando a Colui ch' a tanto ben sortillo,
Piacque di trarlo suso alla mercede, 110
Che meritò nel suo farsi pusillo;
Ai frati suoi, sì com' a giuste erede,
Raccomandò la donna sua più cara,[r]
E comandò che l' amassero a fede:
E del suo grembo l' anima preclara
Muover si volle, tornando al suo regno;
Ed al suo corpo non volle altra bara.
Pensa oramai qual fu colui che degno[s]
Collega fu a mantener la barca
Di Pietro in alto mar per dritto segno: 120
E questi fu il nostro Patriarca;
Perchè qual segue lui, com' ei comanda,

[r] *sua donna Ald. W. Bi. Giul.* [s] *chi fu Gg.*

109 sqq. Visitors to Assisi will remember how this and other subjects from the history of St. Francis have been treated by Giotto in his famous series of frescoes, some of which are said to have been suggested by Dante.

118 **colui** = St. Dominic, to whose order St. Thomas belonged.

commands, thou canst perceive that he ships good merchandise. But his flock has grown so greedy of new food that it cannot but be scattered over many walks; and the further his sheep go remote and astray from him, the emptier of milk they return to the fold. There are indeed of them some who fear the loss, and hold fast to the shepherd; but they are so few that a little cloth furnishes their cowls. Now, if my words are not indistinct, if thy hearing has been attentive, if thou recallest to thy mind that which I have said, thy wish will be in part satisfied, because thou wilt see the plant whence the piece is split,

Discerner puoi, che buona merce carca.[t]
Ma il suo peculio di nuova vivanda
È fatto ghiotto sì ch' esser non puote,
Che per diversi salti non si spanda:
E quanto le sue pecore rimote
E vagabonde più da esso vanno,
Più tornano all' ovil di latte vote.
Ben son di quelle, che temono il danno, 130
E stringonsi al pastor: ma son sì poche,
Che le cappe fornisce poco panno.
Or se le mie parole non son fioche,
Se la tua audienza è stata attenta,
Se ciò ch' ho detto alla mente rivoche,[u]
In parte fia la tua voglia contenta:
Perchè vedrai la pianta onde si scheggia,

[t] *buona Ald. Bi. Giul.*
[u] *ciò ch' è Gg.* 124.

125, 126 **esser non puote che non:** cf. Gr. οὔκ ἐσθ' ὅπως οὐ.

and thou wilt see how the wearer of the thong reasons, 'Where one fattens well, if one turns not to vanities.'"

E vedrai il correggier, che argomenta :[v]
U' ben s' impingua, se non si vaneggia.[w]

[v] *Vederai il coregere che sargomenta Gg.; correggiar charg. Cass.*
[w] *O ben Gg.; Un ben* 125.

138 There is much uncertainty about this line; but the best interpretation seems to be that which takes **correggier** as a substantive, and sees an allusion to the leather thong worn by the Dominicans as a girdle, in contradistinction to the cord of the Franciscans. Others taking *corregger*="corrigere" understand either "correction," with Comm. Gg., "distinctionem, quia corrigit praecedens dictum," or as Daniello appears to do, in the sense of "qualification"; or with Philalethes, "censure."

CANTO XII.

ARGUMENT.

St. Thomas having ceased, St. Bonaventura relates the life of St. Dominic; and names another twelve who are present.

So soon as the blessed flame had taken up its parable to speak for the last time, the holy mill began to revolve, and in its wheeling it had not turned wholly round before a second enclosed it with a circle, and took movement by its movement, chant by its chant; chant which so far surpasses our Muses, our Sirens, in those sweet pipes, as does a primary light that which it gives by reflection. As

Sì tosto come l' ultima parola
  La benedetta fiamma per dir tolse,
  A rotar cominciò la santa mola:
E nel suo giro tutta non si volse
  Prima ch' un' altra di cerchio la chiuse,[a]
  E moto a moto, e canto a canto colse;
Canto, che tanto vince nostre Muse,
  Nostre Sirene, in quelle dolci tube,
  Quanto primo splendor quel ch' ei rifuse.

[a] *d' un cerchio* 3 *Ald. Land. Bi.*

[7] Cf. Purg. xxxii. 61, 62.
[9] **rifuse**: aorist, as *prese*, Purg. xxxii. 34.

through a soft cloud are turned two arches parallel and of like hue, when Juno gives command to her handmaid, the outer taking birth from the inner after the fashion of the speech of that wandering one whom love consumed as the Sun does vapours; and make folk here to be prophetic, through the covenant which God laid down with Noah, concerning the world, how it never more is flooded: thus of those everlasting roses the two garlands were turning around us, and thus did the outer correspond to the inner. After

Come si volgon per tenera nube 10
  Due archi paralleli e concolori,[b]
  Quando Giunone a sua ancella iube,
Nascendo di quel d' entro quel di fuori,
  A guisa del parlar di quella vaga,
  Ch' amor consunse, come Sol vapori:
E fanno qui la gente esser presaga
  Per lo patto, che Dio con Noè pose
  Del mondo, che giammai più non s' allaga;
Così di quelle sempiterne rose
  Volgeansi circa noi le due ghirlande, 20
  E sì l' estrema all' ultima rispose.[c]

[b] *parevelli* 14; *pararelli Cass.*
[c] *intima Ald.*(2) *Bi. Giul. etc.*

[12] **ancella**: Iris. P. di Dante refers to Aen. iv. 700, and Scartazzini to ib. 694, and v. 606.

[14] **quella vaga**: Echo; Ov. Met. iii. 356–401. **vaga** may have its more common meaning of "enamoured"; but it seems better here to take it, with Landino, in its primary sense.

[15] **come Sol.** Attention has been called to the three similes, one within another, of which this is the third; see ll. 10 and 14. The arrangement is curious, but not ineffective.

[17, 18] Genesis ix. 13–17.

that the dance and all the great pageant both of the singing and of the blazing of light with light, joyous and gentle, had become still, together in point of time and in volition, just as the eyes whose property it is at the desire which moves them to close and raise themselves together, from the heart of one of the new lights came a voice which made me seem, in turning to its position, the needle to the star. And it began: "The love that makes me fair draws me to discourse of the other leader, for whose sake there is here so good speech concerning mine. Meet is it

Poichè il tripudio e l' altra festa grande,[d]
  Sì del cantare, e sì del fiammeggiarsi,
  Luce con luce gaudiose e blande,
Insieme a punto e a voler quetarsi;
  Pur come gli occhi, ch' al piacer che i muove
  Conviene insieme chiudere e levarsi;[e]
Del cuor dell' una delle luci nuove
  Si mosse voce, che l' ago alla stella
  Parer mi fece in volgermi al suo dove; 30
E cominciò: L' amor, che mi fa bella,
  Mi tragge a ragionar dell' altro duca,
  Per cui del mio sì ben ci si favella.

[d] *alta Gg.* 14 *W.* [e] *chiudersi Gg.* 14.

[29] **l' ago.** The knowledge of the magnetic needle seems to have come into Europe from Arabia before the end of the twelfth century. Humboldt quotes an allusion to it from the "Siete Partidas" of Alfonso the Wise, King of Castile, 1252–1284. Fazio degli Uberti in the "Dittamondo" (about 1360) has "Quel gran disio, che mi traeva addietro, come ago a calamita" (iii. 2).

[31] The speaker is St. Bonaventura. See note, l. 127. He, as a Franciscan, recounts the praises of St. Dominic.

that where the one is the other should be brought in, so that as they served in one warfare, so their glory should shine together. The army of Christ, which it cost so dear to equip again, was moving slowly after the ensign, dubious and in loose array, when the Emperor who reigns for ever made provision for His soldiery which was in doubtful plight, through His grace alone, and not through its deserving; and as has been said, succoured His bride with two champions, to whose deed, to whose word, the people rallied which had gone astray. In that region where

Degno è, che dov' è l' un, l' altro s' induca;[f]
  Sì che com' elli ad una militaro,
  Così la gloria loro insieme luca.
L' esercito di Cristo, che sì caro
  Costò a riarmar, dietro alla insegna
  Si movea tardo, sospeccioso e raro;
Quando lo imperador, che sempre regna, 40
  Provvide alla milizia, ch' era in forse,
  Per sola grazia, non per esser degna:
E com' è detto, a sua sposa soccorse
  Con duo campioni, al cui fare, al cui dire
  Lo popol disviato si raccorse.
In quella parte, ove surge ad aprire

[f] *che l' un dove l' altro Gg.*

34 I have followed the ordinary rendering of **s' induca**; but it seems very likely, from the analogy of the other reflexive compounds with *in*, that we ought to understand it as meaning "should hold a general's place."

45 **raccorse.** Usually taken as if from *raccorgere*, "bethought itself again," "emendavit se," as Comm. Gg. puts it; but it seems better to take it from *raccorrere*, "ran up again," continuing the image of **tardo** and **raro** in l. 39. The reflexive form need give no difficulty. Landino's view that it is for *raccolse*, "gathered together," is hardly satisfactory.

sweet Zephyrus arises to open the new leaves, wherewith Europe is seen to reclothe herself, not very far from the beating of the waves behind which at times the Sun for his long heat hides himself from all men, stands the fortunate Callaroga, under the protection of the great shield whereon the lion is subject and subjugates. Therein was born the amorous fere of the Christian faith, the holy athlete,

Zeffiro dolce le novelle fronde,
Di che si vede Europa rivestire;
Non molto lungi al percuoter dell' onde,
Dietro a le quali per la lunga foga 50
Lo Sol tal volta ad ogni uom si nasconde,[g]
Siede la fortunata Callaroga,
Sotto la protezion del grande scudo,
In che soggiace il Leone e soggioga.
Dentro vi nacque l' amoroso drudo
Della fede Cristiana, il santo atleta,

[g] *ad ogni si n. Gg.*

50 **per la lunga foga**: "cioè quando la sua corsa è più lunga e focosa, nel solstizio estivo."—Bianchi. So too P. di Dante. This agrees pretty well with the situation of Calahorra, a little north of the latitude of Rome. There are three places of the name in Spain; this one, the ancient Calaguris, is on the border of Castile and Navarre.

51 **tal volta**: cf. xi. 51.

52 **Callaroga**: Calaguris. Observe the exchange of consonants, characteristic of Spanish. In the modern Calahorra it has disappeared again.

54 In the arms of Castile and Leon the lion is above the castle on one side of the shield and below it on the other.

55 St. Dominic was born in 1170. After studying theology, and joining the Chapter of the Cathedral of Osma, he accompanied his Bishop to Rome. He never returned to Spain, but stayed for some years in the neighbourhood of Toulouse, where he took part in the conflicts with the Albigenses. In spite of the bad reputation in regard

benign to his friends and stern to his foes; and from its creation his mind was so fulfilled of living virtue that in his mother it made her prophetic. After that the espousals were completed at the holy font between him and the faith where they dowered each other with mutual salvation, the lady who gave the assent for him saw in her sleep the

Benigno ai suoi, ed ai nimici crudo:
E come fu creata, fu repleta
Sì la sua mente di viva virtute,[h]
Che nella madre lei fece profeta. 60
Poichè le sponsalizie fur compiute
Al sacro fonte intra lui e la fede,
U' si dotar di mutua salute;
La donna che per lui l' assenso diede,

[h] *divina* 1345; *indivina* 2.

to persecution which his Order has since obtained, there seems no reason to believe that he was connected with the severer measures which were employed against those unfortunate schismatics. His preaching, however, appears to have been effective. In 1215 he accompanied Folco (see Canto IX.) to the Lateran Council. On his return to Toulouse he founded the first monastery of his Order; and obtained its formal recognition as "Preaching Friars" from Honorius III. on a third visit to Rome in 1217. From this time he remained chiefly at Rome; and in 1221 died at Bologna. He is described as a well-built man, of delicate complexion, with reddish hair and beard, a countenance at once imposing and attractive, long and beautiful hands.—(Philalethes.)

58 **come fu creata**: see Purg. xxv. 68–75. **come**, like Gr. ἐπεὶ = "from the time when." So Purg. vi. 25, and elsewhere.

60 His mother is said to have dreamt, before his birth, that she had borne a black-and-white dog, with a lighted torch in its mouth. The play on *Dominicani*, *Domini canes*, will be familiar to all who have seen the fresco of Simon Memmi in Santa Maria Novella at Florence.

62 Observe that Faith is said to be the bride of St. Dominic, as Poverty—taken as the symbol of good works—was of St. Francis.

wonderful fruit that was to issue from him and from his heirs: and that he might be in interpretation what he was, from hence a spirit set forth to name him with the possessive of Him whose he was wholly. Dominic was he called; and I speak of him as of the husbandman whom Christ chose to His garden, to aid Him. Right well did he appear a messenger and a familiar of Christ, for the first desire which was manifest in him was toward the first counsel which Christ gave. Oftentimes was he found silent

Vide nel sonno il mirabile frutto,
Ch' uscir dovea di lui e delle rede:
E perchè fosse quale era in costrutto,
Quinci si mosse spirito a nomarlo
Del possessivo di cui era tutto.
Domenico fu detto: ed io ne parlo, 70
Sì come dell' agricola, che CRISTO
Elesse all' orto suo per aiutarlo.
Ben parve messo e famigliar di CRISTO,
Chè il primo amor, che in lui fu manifesto,
Fu al primo consiglio che diè CRISTO.
Spesse fiate fu tacito e desto

65 The legend, as given by P. di Dante, is that his godmother saw him in a dream with a star on his forehead, which illumined the whole world.

67 **in costrutto**: "i.e. loquela, nomine."—Comm. Gg. Looking to Purg. xxviii. 147, this seems the best explanation; though some, e.g. Daniello, take it as = *in effetto*. Land. "perche egli havea ad esser tutto del suo signor Iddio."

68 **Quinci**: from heaven.

69 Aquinas, S.T. iii. Q. 16. A. 3, "dominicus dicitur denominative a Domino" (where he is discussing whether Christ can be called "dominicus").

75 **primo consiglio**: "sell all that thou hast and give to the poor." Various stories are told of St. Dominic's obedience to this precept.

and awake on the earth by his nurse, as though he said: 'To this end am I come.' O Felix in very truth his father! O Joan in very truth his mother! if being interpreted it means as they say. Not for the world, for whose sake now men weary themselves, following him of Ostia and Thaddaeus, but for love of the true manna, in a little time he became a great doctor, such that he betook himself to going round the vine which soon grows white if the vine-

Trovato in terra dalla sua nutrice,
Come dicesse: Io son venuto a questo.
O padre suo veramente Felice!
O madre sua veramente Giovanna[i] 80
Se interpretata val come si dice!
Non per lo mondo, per cui mo s' affanna
Diretro ad Ostiense ed a Taddeo,
Ma per amor della verace manna,
In picciol tempo gran dottor si feo,
Tal che si mise a circuir la vigna,
Che tosto imbianca, se il vignaio è reo:

[i] *E madre Gg.*

81 Giovanna being the feminine of John, which means "the grace of God" or "Jehovah has been gracious." Dante of course was ignorant of Hebrew, and so had to trust to hearsay evidence.

82 sqq. He did not acquire learning for the sake of worldly fame, but in order to know Christ. (St. John vi. 31, 32.)

83 Henry of Susa, Archbishop of Embrun and Cardinal of Ostia, wrote a commentary on the Decretals. He died 1271. **Taddeo**: probably Taddeo Alderotti of Bologna, "il quale," says Villani (viii. 65), "fu sommo fisiziano sopra tutti quegli de' cristiani." He made an Italian version of the Ethics; and is thought to be the person alluded to in an uncomplimentary fashion in Conv. i. 10. Blanc appositely compares with this line the "*jura* ed aforismi" of xi. 4; and see note to l. 93 below. According to Villani, Taddeo died 1303.

dresser is in fault; and at the seat which was formerly kinder to the righteous poor, not by reason of itself, but of him who sits and goes astray, he craved, not to dispense two or three for six, not the fortune of a next vacancy, *non decimas quae sunt pauperum Dei*; but leave to fight

Ed alla sedia, che fu gia benigna
  Più ai poveri giusti, non per lei,
  Ma per colui che siede, e che traligna,[k] 90
Non dispensare o due o tre per sei,
  Non la fortuna di prima vacante,
  Non decimas, quae sunt pauperum Dei,

[k] *che siede che* 3 *Ald. W.*

88 **sedia:** the Papal See.

89 **non per lei:** as if he had said, "which is no longer kind."

90 **colui:** Boniface.

91 I.e. not the power of dispensing people from the chief part of their duties. Cf. v. 35, 60. Others understand "to distribute less than the due amount."

93 "Not the tithes, which belong to God's poor." With this and l. 83, cf. Conv. iv. 27: Potrebbe dire alcuno medico o legista: dunque porterò io il mio consiglio e darollo eziandio che non mi sia chiesto, e dalla mia arte non avrò frutto? Rispondo; siccome dice nostro Signore: A grado ricevete, a grado date. Dico adunque, messer lo legista, che quelli consigli che non hanno rispetto alla tua arte, e che procedono solo di quel buono senno che Iddio ti diede, tu nol déi vendere a' figliuoli di Colui che te l' ha dato; quelli che hanno rispetto all' arte, la quale hai comperata, vender puoi; ma non sì, che non si convengano alcuna volta decimare e dare a Dio, cioè a quelli miseri, a cui solo il grado divino è rimaso. S. T. ii. 2. Q. 87. A. 3: In nova lege decimae dantur clericis, non solum propter sui sustentationem, sed etiam ut ex eis subveniant pauperibus. With *pauperum Dei*, cf. "pauperum Christi," De Mon. ii. 10 (11). It may be noted that one of Philip IV.'s conditions for promoting the election of Pope Clement V. was that he should receive five years' tithes from the French clergy.

against the erring world for the sake of the seed whereof twenty-four plants are girding thee. Then with doctrine and with good will together he set out with his apostolical office, like a torrent which a deep vein presses out; and his attack smote upon the heretical stocks in more lively wise in those places where the resistance was most stout. From him were made thereafter divers streams, whence the catholic garden is watered so that its bushes stand more alive.

"If of such sort was one wheel of the chariot whereon the Holy Church defended herself, and won in the field her

Addimandò, ma contra il mondo errante
  Licenzia di combatter per lo seme,
  Del qual ti fascian ventiquattro piante.[1]
Poi con dottrina, e con volere insieme,
  Con l' uficio apostolico si mosse,
  Quasi torrente, ch' alta vena preme:
E negli sterpi eretici percosse 100
  L' impeto suo più vivamente quivi,
  Dove le resistenze eran più grosse.
Di lui si fecer poi diversi rivi,
  Onde l' orto cattolico si riga,
  Sì che i suoi arbuscelli stan più vivi.
Se tal fu l' una ruota della biga,
  In che la santa Chiesa si difese,
  E vinse in campo la sua civil briga,

[1] *si fascia Gg.; si fascian Ald.*

96 Twenty-four spirits, in two circles, are now surrounding them.

101 **quivi**: i.e. where heresy was most rife. See note to l. 55.

108 **civil briga**: the struggle with heresy being to the Church what civil war is to a State. The corresponding efforts of St. Francis were rather towards the conversion of those who were outside the Church.

civil strife, right clear ought to be to thee the excellence of the other concerning whom Thomas was before my coming so courteous. But the track which the highest part of its circumference made, has been deserted; so that the mould is where the crust was. His household which set out aright with its feet in his footsteps, has so turned round that it casts him who is in front upon him who is behind; and soon from the ingathering will the bad culture be perceived, when the tare shall lament that the store-chest is taken from it. Doubtless I say whoso should search our volume leaf by leaf would still find a page where he would

Ben ti dovrebbe assai esser palese
  L' eccellenza dell' altra, di cui Tomma 110
  Dinanzi al mio venir fu sì cortese.
Ma l' orbita, che fe la parte somma
  Di sua circonferenza, è derelitta,
  Sì ch' è la muffa dov' era la gromma.
La sua famiglia, che si mosse dritta,
  Coi piedi alle su' orme, è tanto volta,
  Che quel dinanzi a quel diretro gitta:
E tosto sì vedrà della ricolta[m]
  Della mala coltura, quando il loglio
  Si lagnerà che l' arca gli sia tolta. 120
Ben dico, chi cercasse foglio a foglio
  Nostro volume, ancor troveria carta,[n]

[m] *s' avvedra Ald. Bi.* [n] *trovare Gg.*

112 sqq. St. Bonaventura, like St. Thomas in the last Canto, reproves the degeneracy of his own Order. The metaphor in ll. 112–114 is somewhat confused; and the allusion to the founder of the Order as the highest point of the wheel is awkward.

114 Good wine makes a crust, bad wine mould, in the cask.

119, 120 With allusion to the parable.

read 'I am what I am wont'; but it will not be from Casale nor from Acquasparta; where they come to the scripture in such sort that one flies from it and another contracts it.

"I am the life of Bonaventura of Bagnoregio, who in my

U' leggerebbe: I' mi son quel, ch' io soglio.
Ma non fia da Casal, nè d' Acquasparta,
Là onde vegnon tali alla scrittura,
Ch' uno la fugge, e l' altro la coarta.°
Io son la vita di Bonaventura
Da Bagnoregio, che nei grandi ufici

° *Che l' un W.; ed altro* 2 *Ald.*

124-126 The allusion is to the sects, which soon after the death of St. Francis arose within the Order. The one party, of whom Matthew of Acquasparta, General in 1289, was the leader, construed the founder's rule (**scrittura**) in a somewhat liberal sense, while the others, with the encouragement of successive Popes, adopted a narrower and more literal interpretation. The most vigorous champion of this view was Ubertino of Casale. Pope Clement V. did his best to reconcile the factions; and Philalethes notes Dante's implied approval of this course as an instance of his freedom from party spirit, seeing that Clement found, as we know, little favour with him on general grounds.

127 **vita**: i.e. the soul. Bonaventura is the name by which posterity has known John da Fidanza of Bagnoreggio or Bagnorea near Orvieto. He was born in 1221, and was brought as a child by his mother to St. Francis, who performed a miraculous cure on him. He joined the Order in 1243, studied under Alexander of Hales (himself a Franciscan) at Paris, and afterwards lectured there. In 1256 he became General of the Order, and afterwards Cardinal Bishop of Albano. He died 1276. In his case, as also in that of St. Thomas, Dante has anticipated the decision of the Church, for he was not canonised till 1482. The philosophy of the "Seraphic Doctor," as he is called, was strongly leavened with mysticism, and differs from that of Aquinas (whose mind was altogether of a far more masculine stamp) in having more affinity with Plato than with Aristotle.

great offices ever set last the care of the left hand. Illuminato and Augustin are here, who were of the first unshod poor ones that in the rope-girdle became friends to God. Hugh of Saint Victor is here with them, Peter the Eater, and Peter of Spain, who on earth shines through

Sempre posposi la sinistra cura.
Illuminato ed Agostin son quici, 130
Che fur dei primi scalzi poverelli,
Che nel capestro a Dio si fero amici.
Ugo da Sanvittore è qui con elli,
E Pietro Mangiadore, e Pietro Ispano,
Lo qual giù luce in dodici libelli:

[129] **sinistra.** The allusion seems to be to Prov. iii. 16: "In her left hand are riches and honour." See also S. T. i. 2. Q. 104. A. 4. § 6.

[130] Illuminato of Rieti and Augustin were among the first followers of St. Francis; the former was his companion on his expedition to Egypt.

[132] **capestro**: cf. xi. 87.

[133] Hugh of St. Victor, called "alter Augustinus," was born 1097. He was a German by birth, and afterwards joined the famous monastery of St. Victor. Peter Lombard and Richard (x. 107, 131) were his pupils. He too was a mystic, but, according to Philalethes, with a strong tendency to practical moral doctrine. He died 1141.

[134] Petrus Comestor was Dean of Troyes, and afterwards Chancellor of the University of Paris. His chief work was a History of the Church, founded on the Old and New Testaments. He died at St. Victor, 1179. Petrus Hispanus was a physician and theologian at Lisbon. He took orders, and became in 1273 Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum. In 1276 he was elected Pope, and reigned for eight months as John XXI. In May, 1277, he was killed by the fall of a roof at Viterbo (Villani vii. 50). His work, "Summulae Logicales" (in which, says Philalethes, the famous "Barbara, celarent" first appear), had a great reputation. Only seven treatises are mentioned in Ueberweg.

twelve treatises; Nathan the prophet and the metropolitan Chrysostom, and Anselm, and that Donatus who deigned to put his hand to the prime art; Raban is here, and beside me shines the Calabrian Abbot Joachim, endowed with

Natan Profeta, e il Metropolitano
Crisostomo, ed Anselmo, e quel Donato,
Ch' alla prim' arte degnò poner mano;
Rabano è qui, e lucemi da lato
Il Calavrese abate Giovacchino 140

[137] St. John Chrysostom (347–407), the famous patriarch of Constantinople, is probably, as Philalethes suggests, coupled with Nathan, on account of their similar boldness in rebuking the sins of kings. It may be noted also that both he and Pope John XXI. censured the idle and vicious lives of many of the monks of their time, which perhaps accounts partly for their appearance here. Anselm of Aosta was born 1033. He entered the Abbey of Bec, in Normandy, became Prior in 1063, and Abbot in 1078. In 1093 he was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, and died 1109. His chief title to fame as a theologian rests on his "Proslogium," in which he seeks to prove God's existence by a method not unlike that of Descartes; and his "Cur Deus Homo," which treats of the Atonement. Aelius Donatus was a famous grammarian of the fourth century. St. Jerome is said to have been his pupil. In the Middle Age his name became a synonym for Grammar (much as "Euclid" for Geometry), and his treatise was printed probably before any book except the Bible.

[138] **prim' arte.** Grammar is the first of the seven liberal arts, the others being Logic, Rhetoric, Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy.

[139] Rabanus Maurus, born at Mainz, 766 (or 780), was a monk at Fulda; became Abbot in 822, Archbishop of Mainz 847, died 856. He was a voluminous writer. One of his works, "De Laudibus S. Crucis," contains curious figures in which rows of letters are cut by outlines of stars, crosses, and the like, so as to mark out words and sentences. Did Dante borrow from this his image in Canto xviii.?

[140] Joachim, born near Cosenza, 1130, was Abbot of the Cistercian monastery at Curazzo. He wrote a Commentary on the Apocalypse, and seems to have enjoyed in his own day a reputation for prophetic

prophetic spirit. To vie with so mighty a paladin has the enkindled courtesy of Brother Thomas moved me, and his discerning speech, and it has moved with me this company."

Di spirito profetico dotato.
Ad inveggiar cotanto paladino
Mi mosse la infiammata cortesia
Di fra Tommaso, e il discreto latino,[p]
E mosse meco questa compagnia.

[p] *Tommaso il d. Gg.* 3; *T. d.* 145.

power. "Joachim, the Abbot of Calabria, foretold all the Popes that should ensue, together with their names and shapes."—Montaigne, Trans. Florio, Bk. i., Ch. 2. He is also said to have foretold that Antichrist would sit in the chair of Peter; and Philalethes suggests that Dante may have seen the fulfilment of this in Boniface VIII.

[142] It seems best to understand (with Blanc) **paladino** of St. Thomas. If, following the usual interpretation, we take it of St. Dominic, it is hard to extract any satisfactory meaning from **inveggiar.**

[144] **latino**: cf. iii. 63.

CANTO XIII.

ARGUMENT.

St. Thomas speaks again, and explains how it was rightly said by him of Solomon, that no second had arisen like to him; stating incidentally certain truths concerning God's operation as Creator, and reprehending false reasoners.

LET him imagine, who wishes duly to understand that which I then saw—and let him keep the image, while I am telling, like a fixed rock—fifteen stars which in divers regions quicken the heaven with such pure ray that it overcomes every trammel of the air; let him imagine that wain to which the bosom of our sky suffices both night and day,

IMMAGINI chi bene intender cupe
  Quel ch' io or vidi, e ritegna l' image,
  Mentre ch' io dico, come ferma rupe,
Quindici stelle, che in diverse plage
  Lo cielo avvivan di tanto sereno,
  Che soverchia dell' aere ogni compage;
Immagini quel Carro, a cui il seno
  Basta del nostro cielo e notte e giorno,

1-18 The meaning of this elaborate figure is merely that the reader is to imagine twenty-four bright stars revolving in two concentric circles.

so that it disappears not in the turning of its pole; let him imagine the mouth of that horn that begins on the point of the axle about which the prime rotation goes, to have made of themselves two signs in heaven such as the daughter of Minos made, what time she felt the chill of death; and the one to have its rays within the other and both to whirl in such manner that the one went first and the other after; and he will have as it were the shadow of the true constellation, and of the twofold dance which was circling the point where I was; since it is so much beyond

Sì ch' al volger del temo non vien meno;
Immagini la bocca di quel corno, 10
Che si comincia in punta dello stelo,
A cui la prima ruota va dintorno,
Aver fatti di sè duo segni in cielo,[a]
Qual fece la figliuola di Minoi
Allora che sentì di morte il gielo:
E l' un nell' altro aver gli raggi suoi,[b]
Ed ambedue girarsi per maniera,
Che l' uno andasse al prima e l' altro al poi:
Ed avrà quasi l' ombra della vera
Costellazione, e della doppia danza 20
Che circulava il punto, dov' io era:
Poich' è tanto di là da nostra usanza,

[a] *fatto Gg. W. Bi.* [b] *l' uno all' altro Gg.; e l' altro* 2.

10 The Little Bear is conceived as a horn, the "mouth" being of course formed by the two stars furthest from the pole.

14 The constellation of the Crown was the garland which Bacchus took from the head of Ariadne, and placed among the stars. Ov. Met. viii. 178. It is the "Gnosia corona" of Georg. i. 222.

18 **al prima—al poi**: i.e. one followed the movement of the other.

our wont as beyond the movement of the Chiana is moved the heaven which outstrips all the rest. There was chanted not Bacchus, not Paean, but three Persons in a divine nature, and in one person that and the human.

The chanting and the turning fulfilled its measure, and those holy lights gave their heed to us, from task to task gladdening themselves. Thereafter among the concordant powers that light broke the silence, in which a wondrous life of God's poor man had been narrated to me, and it said: "Since one straw has been threshed, since its seed

Quanto di là dal muover della Chiana
Si muove il ciel che tutti gli altri avanza.
Lì si cantò non Bacco, non Peana,
Ma tre Persone in divina natura,
Ed in una persona essa e l' umana.[c]
Compiè il cantare e il volger sua misura,
E attesersi a noi quei santi lumi,
Felicitando sè di cura in cura. 30
Ruppe il silenzio ne' concordi numi
Poscia la luce, in che mirabil vita
Del poverel di Dio narrata fùmi:
E disse: Quando l' una paglia è trita,

[c] *una sustanzia Cass. Ald.*

23 The Chiana is a sluggish and marshy river (now canalised), which flows from Arezzo, past Chiusi to Orvieto (Inf. xxix. 47).

26, 27 I.e. the mysteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation.—**essa**, sc. *la divina.*

30 From the task of dancing to that of instructing.

31 sqq. St. Thomas resumes, and proceeds to explain the other point as to which Dante is perplexed, viz. how it could rightly be said that no second to Solomon had arisen, whereas both in Adam when created (ll. 37–39), and in Christ (40–42), human nature had existed in its most perfect form, and with perfect knowledge.

has already been stored up, a kindly love summons me to thresh the second. Thou deemest that in the breast whence the rib was drawn to form the fair face whose appetite is costly to the whole world, and in that which pierced by the lance, both after and before made so great satisfaction that it wins the balance over all sin, as much soever as it is allowed to human nature to have of light had been all infused by that Goodness which made both the one and the other; and therefore thou wonderest at what I said above, when I related that the good which is enclosed in the fifth light had no second. Now open thine eyes to

Quando la sua semenza è già riposta,
A batter l' altra dolce amor m' invita.
Tu credi, che nel petto onde la costa
Si trasse, per formar la bella guancia,
Il cui palato a tutto il mondo costa,
Ed in quel, che forato dalla lancia 40
E poscia e prima tanto soddisfece,
Che d' ogni colpa vinse la bilancia,
Quantunque alla natura umana lece
Aver di lume, tutto fosse infuso
Da quel valor che l' uno e l' altro fece:
E però ammiri ciò ch' io dissi suso,
Quando narrai, che non ebbe secondo
Lo ben che nella quinta luce è chiuso.
Ora apri gli occhi a quel ch' io ti rispondo,

39 Cf. Purg. xxix. 24.

42 **vinse la bilancia**, like *vince tutto*, Purg. xvi. 78.

44 **fosse.** *Credo* in the present, when no negative is involved, and the object of belief is past or present, usually takes the indicative, as Inf. xiii. 25; but the subjunctive is also found, e.g. Inf. xxix. 20. See Diez iii. 366.

that which I answer thee, and thou wilt see that thy belief and my word are set in the truth as its centre in a circle. That which dies not and that which can die are nought but the brightness of that Idea which our Lord in His love brings to birth; for that living Light which so goes forth from its source that it is not disunited from Him, nor from the Love which in them is made the third, of its bounty unites its radiance, as though mirrored, in nine subsistences,

E vedrai il tuo credere e il mio dire 50
Nel vero farsi, come centro in tondo.
Ciò che non muore, e ciò che può morire,
Non è se non splendor di quella idea,
Che partorisce, amando, il nostro Sire:
Chè quella viva luce, che sì mea[d]
Dal suo lucente, che non si disuna
Da lui, nè dall' amor che in lor s' intrea,
Per sua bontate il suo raggiare aduna,
Quasi specchiato in nove sussistenze,

[d] *vera luce Gg.; simmea Gg.* 134.

50, 51 I.e. thy belief and my words coincide at the same point of the truth. Bianchi suggests that the metaphor is taken from Boethius iii. Pr. 11: Ipsam mediae veritatis notam mente fixisti.

52 Embracing both the classes referred to in vii. 67 sqq.

53 **splendor.** Probably with allusion to Heb. i. 3: splendor gloriae et figura substantiae ejus.—**idea.** S. T. i. Q. 15. A. 1: Idea Graece, Latine forma dicitur. Unde per ideas intelliguntur formae aliquarum rerum praeter ipsas res existentes. A. 3: Ideae sunt rationes in mente divina existentes. Sed omnium quae cognoscit Deus, habet proprias rationes. Ergo omnium, quae cognoscit, habet ideam.

55-57 Here, as in x. 1–3, the three Persons of the Trinity are indicated.—**luce**: cf. St. John i. 7–9.

59 **nove sussistenze**, the nine heavenly spheres. See Ep. to Can Grande; and Conv. iii. 14: E da sapere che 'l primo agente, cioè Dio, pinge la sua virtù in cose per modo di diritto raggio (vii. 67), e in

eternally remaining itself one. Hence it descends to the ultimate potentialities, from operation to operation, coming down so far that it makes further only brief contingencies; and these contingencies I understand to be the things generated, which the heaven in its motion produces with seed and without seed. The wax of these and that which

Eternalmente rimanendosi una. 60
Quindi discende all' ultime potenze
Giù d' atto in atto tanto divenendo,[e]
Che più non fa che brevi contingenze:
E queste contingenze essere intendo
Le cose generate, che produce
Con seme e senza seme il ciel movendo.

[e] *dividendo Gg.; vene discendendo* 2.

cose per modo di splendore riverberato; onde nelle intelligenze raggia la divina luce sanza mezzo, nell' altre si ripercuote da queste intelligenze prima illuminato. S.T. i. Q. 56. A. 3: ipsa natura angelica est quoddam speculum divinam similitudinem repraesentans.

61 sqq. The creative energy passes from one stage of being to another, until it reaches the lowest point at which it is able to operate. Here it produces merely accidental or fortuitous effects, personal peculiarities, and the like. **contingenze** here represents not *τὰ ἐνδεχόμενα*, but *τὰ κατὰ συμβεβηκός*, of which Aristotle makes *ἡ τύχη καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον* to be the cause. (Phys. ii. 5, 197a.) Dante, however, makes these, as well as all else, due to God's providence, working through the heavenly movers. So St. Thomas, Summa contra Gentiles, iii. 72: Ex causis autem proximis aliqui effectus dicuntur necessarii vel contingentes; non autem ex remotis causis. Nam fructificatio plantae est effectus contingens propter causam proximam, quae est vis germinativa quae potest impediri ac deficere . . . non omnes effectus qui providentiae subduntur erunt necessarii sed plurimi sunt contingentes. (See ll. 70–72.)

65, 66 Met. ζ 7 (1032a): *τούτων δὲ (τῶν ποιήσεων) τινες γίγνονται καὶ ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου καὶ ἀπὸ τύχης παραπλησίως ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ φύσεως γιγνομένοις· ἔνια γὰρ κἀκεῖ ταὐτὰ καὶ ἐκ σπέρματος γίγνεται*

moulds it stand not in one manner, and therefore under the seal of the Idea more and less thereafter shines through; whence it comes to pass that a tree the same in respect of species bears better and worse fruit, and you are born with divers intellect. If the wax were moulded perfectly, and the heaven supreme in its virtue, the whole light of the seal would appear. But nature gives it always lacking,

La cera di costoro, e chi la duce,
  Non stà d' un modo, e però sotto il segno
  Ideale poi più e men traluce:
Ond' egli avvien, ch' un medesimo legno, 70
  Secondo specie, meglio e peggio frutta,
  E voi nascete con diverso ingegno.
Se fosse appunto la cera dedutta,
  E fosse il cielo in sua virtù suprema,
  La luce del suggel parrebbe tutta.
Ma la natura la dà sempre scema,

καὶ ἀνεὺ σπερματος. And Chap. 10 (1034b): *ὅσα δὲ ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου* (sc. *γίγνεται*) *ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ* (*ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ*) *γίγνεται, ὅσων ἡ ὕλη δύναται* (potenze) *καὶ ὑφ' αὑτῆς κινεῖσθαι ταύτην τὴν κίνησιν ἣν τὸ σπέρμα κινεῖ.* See also *ε. 2 passim*, and the reference to it in S. T. i. Q. 115. A. 6; where St. Thomas adds: Corpora caelestia sunt causa inferiorum effectuum mediantibus causis particularibus inferioribus, quae deficere possunt in minori parte . . . Virtus corporis caelestis non est infinita; unde requirit determinatam dispositionem in materia ad inducendum suum effectum.

67 sqq. See i. 127–9; and viii. 127 sqq. with which all this passage should be compared.

76 Ar. Probl. x. 44: *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἡ φύσις φαῦλα μὲν πάντα ποιεῖ, σπουδαῖα δὲ ἐλάττω.* Phys. ii. 8: *ἁμαρτία δὲ γίγνεται ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τέχνην· ἔγραφε γὰρ οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὁ γραμματινός, καὶ ἐπότισεν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὁ ἰατρὸς τὸ φάρμακον· ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι ἐνδέχεται καὶ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν. εἰ δὴ ἔστιν ἔνια κατὰ τέχνην ἐν οἷς τὸ ὀρθῶς ἕνεκά του, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἁμαρτανομένοις ἕνεκα μέν τινος ἐπιχειρεῖται ἀλλ' ἀποτυγχάνεται, ὁμοίως ἂν ἔχοι καὶ ἐν τοίς φυσικοῖς.*

operating in like manner to the artist, who has the habit of his art, and a hand which trembles. But if the burning love disposes and stamps the clear view of the prime virtue, all perfection is there acquired. Thus was the earth once made worthy of all the perfection of living things: thus was the Virgin made to be with child. So that I commend thy opinion; for human nature never has been nor will be such as it was in those two persons. Now, if I went not further forward, 'How then was this one without equal?' would thy words begin. But that that which appears not may duly appear, think who he was, and the occasion which

Similemente operando all' artista,
Ch' ha l' abito dell' arte e man che trema.
Però se il caldo Amor la chiara vista
Della prima virtù dispone e segna, 80
Tutta la perfezion quivi s' acquista.
Così fu fatta già la terra degna
Di tutta l' animal perfezione:
Così fu fatta la Vergine pregna.
Sì ch' io commendo tua opinione:
Che l' umana natura mai non fue,
Nè fia, qual fu in quelle due persone.
Or s' io non procedessi avanti piue,
Dunque come costui fu senza pare?
Comincerebber le parole tue. 90
Ma perchè paia ben ciò che non pare,
Pensa chi era, e la cagion che il mosse,

79-81 Cf. vii. 64 sqq. The meaning is, where God acts directly, as in the Creation, and in the Incarnation of Christ, a perfect result follows. **Amor, vista, virtù,** correspond with the **amando, idea, sire,** of ll. 53, 54; and cf. again x. 1–3.

87 **due persone**: Adam and Christ.

moved him, when it was said 'Ask,' to make his request. I have not so spoken that thou canst not well see that he was a king who asked wisdom, to the end that he might be king sufficiently: not to know the number in which are the movers here on high, or if necessary with contingent ever made necessary; not *si est dare primum motum esse*, or if in the semicircle a triangle can be made so as not to have a right angle. Wherefore, if thou note what I said, and

Quando fu detto, Chiedi, a dimandare.
Non ho parlato sì che tu non posse[f]
Ben veder, ch' ei fu Re, che chiese senno,
Acciocchè Re sufficiente fosse;
Non per saper lo numero in che enno
Li motor di quassù, o se *necesse*
Con contingente mai *necesse* fenno:
Non si est dare primum motum esse, 100
O se nel mezzo cerchio far si puote
Triangol, sì ch' un retto non avesse.
Onde, se ciò ch' io dissi e questo note,

[f] *non è p. Gg.*

93 1 Kings iii. 5 sqq.

97 This question is discussed by Plato, Timaeus 40; by Aristotle, Met. λ. 8; and by Dante himself, Conv. ii. 5.—**enno**: Purg. xvi. 121.

98, 99 Ar. An. Pr. i. 16: Πάλιν τὸ μὲν α ἐνδεχέσθω παντὶ τῷ β, τὸ δὲ β παντὶ τῷ γ ὑπαρχέτω ἐξ ἀνάγκης· ἔσται δὴ συλλογισμὸς, ὅτι τὸ α παντὶ τῷ γ ἐνδέχεται ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅτι ὑπάρχει.

99 **fenno**: two words coupled by **con** are not uncommonly followed by a plural verb.

100 "If it must be granted that a First Moved exists," i.e. that Motion had a beginning. Ar. Phys. viii. 1–3.

101 Euclid iii. 31. The ordinary reading, **del m. c.** must, I think, be a slip of copyists. The meaning of the whole passage is that Solomon asked not for speculative but for practical wisdom.

this, royal prudence is that unmatched vision, whereon the shaft of my intention strikes. And if thou direct thine eyes clearly to the 'has arisen,' thou wilt see that it has respect only to kings, who are many, and the good are few. With this distinction take my saying; and thus may stand what thou believest concerning the first father and concerning our Delight. And let this be always as lead to thy feet, to make thee move slow as a weary man both to the

Regal prudenza è quel vedere impari,[g]
In che lo stral di mia intenzion percuote.
E se al *Surse* drizzi gli occhi chiari,
Vedrai aver solamente rispetto
Ai regi, che son molti, e i buon son rari.
Con questa distinzion prendi il mio detto:
E così puote star con quel che credi 110
Del primo padre e del nostro diletto.
E questo ti fia sempre piombo ai piedi,
Per farti muover lento, com' uom lasso,

[g] *et quel Cass.* 124 *Ald. W.*

104 This line has given rise to some difficulty. Most, if not all of the MSS. and early edd. read *et quel ved.*, and those who follow this take **impari** as = *imparerai* (for if it be apodosis, a future is clearly required). But this will hardly do. Comm. Gg. has "si est verum quod dixi, et si consideras regalem sensum qui fuit in isto (as if he read *se è ver ch' io dissi, e in questo note r. p.*), et si apprehendis de quo videre ego loquor quando dixi supra cha veder tanto," etc. This will give a good enough sense if we put a comma at **percuote**, so as to read **se note . . . e impari . . . e se drizzi . . . vedrai** — "if what I have said is true, and thou notest his royal prudence, and learnest the meaning of that vision of which I am thinking, and lookest at the *Surse*, thou wilt see," etc. But it seems scarcely possible not to recognise in **impari** a reference to the **senza pare** of l. 89, and I have therefore preferred to follow Lombardi, Philalethes, and Bianchi. For the form **impari**, cf. *dispari*, Purg. xiii. 120.

yes and to the *no* that thou seest not; for he is very low down among the fools who affirms or denies without distinction, in the one no less than in the other pass: since it occurs that oftentimes the current opinion swerves in a false direction, and afterwards the desire binds the understanding. Far more than in vain does he cast loose from the shore, because he returns not the same as he sets out, who fishes for the truth and has not the art; and of this are to the world open proofs Parmenides, Melissus and

Ed al sì ed al nò, che tu non vedi:
Chè quegli è tra gli stolti bene abbasso,
Che senza distinzion afferma e nega,[h]
Così nell' un, come nell' altro passo:
Perch' egl' incontra che più volte piega
L' opinion corrente in falsa parte,
E poi l' affetto lo intelletto lega. 120
Vie più che indarno da riva si parte,[i]
Perchè non torna tal qual' ei si muove,
Chi pesca per lo vero e non ha l' arte:
E di ciò sono al mondo aperte pruove
Parmenide Melisso e Brisso e molti,

[h] *aff. o n. 2 Ald. W.* [i] *Via Gg. Cass.*

118 **egli**: see note, Purg. xxviii. 37.

120 Ar. Met. λ. 7 (1072a): *ὀρεγόμεθα διότι δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ δοκεῖ διότι ὀρεγόμεθα*; the contrary to Dante's view, which however expresses more accurately the usual conditions of human opinion.

121-123 I.e. the man who seeks for truth without having mastered the art of reasoning does worse than return empty-handed, for his mind becomes prejudiced.

125 Parmenides of Elea and Melissus of Samos are constantly coupled by Aristotle as examples of bad reasoners; e.g. Phys. i. 3: *ψεύδη λαμβάνουσι, καὶ ἀσυλλογιστοί εἰσι*, or, according to the rendering adopted by Dante, De Mon. iii. 4: Qui falsa recipiunt et non

Bryson, and many who used to go, and knew not where. So did Sabellius and Arius and those fools who were as swords to the Scriptures in making crooked the faces that were straight. Let not the folk be yet too secure at judging, like him who values the corn in a field before it is ripe; for

Li quali andavan, e non sapean dove.
Sì fe Sabellio ed Arrio, e quegli stolti,[k]
Che furon come spade alle scritture,
In render torti li diritti volti.
Non sien le genti ancor troppo sicure 130
A giudicar, sì come quei che stima
Le biade in campo pria che sien mature:

[k] *Sabello Gg. Cass. 2 Ald.*

syllogisantes sunt. See also Met. *a.* 5; and de Caelo iii. 1, where he says that *οἱ περὶ Μέλισσόν τε καὶ Παρμενίδην* went astray *διὰ τὸ μηθὲν ἄλλο παρὰ τὴν τῶν αἰσθητῶν οὐσίαν ὑπολαβεῖν εἶναι.* This is perhaps the passage which Dante had in his mind. It is curious to note that Parmenides expresses himself almost as strongly as Dante about the worthlessness of human opinion, *βροτῶν δόξας ταῖς οὐκ ἐνι πίστις ἀληθής.* But, of course, Dante only knew of him through Aristotle's criticism. Bryson is mentioned, Soph. Elench. 11, as not only a circle-squarer, but a dishonest one, who tried to solve the problem by non-geometrical methods. He may, therefore, be regarded as a specially good instance of the state of mind indicated in ll. 120–123.

127 Sabellius, who confounded the first two Persons of the Trinity, and Arius, who divided the substance, are famous names in the history of the early heresies.

128 **spade.** Landino seems to give the right interpretation of this metaphor: perchè come chi si specchia nella spada, vi vede il suo volto torto, così chi guarda ne' libri de gli heretici, vi vede il senso delle scritture torto. So Daniello: chi si mira nello specchio, vede in quello il suo volto diritto, ma chi si mira nella spada, lo vede torto. Blanc, however, s.v. *spada*, "rejects this absolutely," and prefers to follow Lombardi, who takes it to mean that the heretics distort the Scriptures, as a *blow* from a sword would a face.

I have seen all winter long the plum-tree at first show itself rigid and stern, and afterward bear blossoms on its top; and I saw on a time a craft trim and swift to sail the sea for its whole course, perish at the last in the entering of the sound. Let not Dame Bertha and Master Martin deem, for seeing one steal, another make offerings, that they are seeing them within the Divine counsel; for that one may be exalted and this may fall."

Ch' io ho veduto tutto il verno prima
  Il prun mostrarsi rigido e feroce,
  Poscia portar la rosa in su la cima:
E legno vidi già dritto e veloce
  Correr lo mar per tutto suo cammino,
  Perire al fine all' entrar della foce.
Non creda monna Berta, e ser Martino,
  Per vedere un furare, altro offerere, 140
  Vedergli dentro al consiglio divino:
Chè quel può surger, e quel può cadere.

[139] Cf. Conv. i. 8: onde suole dire Martino.

CANTO XIV.

ARGUMENT.

the prayer of Beatrice, Solomon speaks, resolving a doubt in Dante's mind touching the glorified body. After this they pass to the fifth Heaven, of Mars; and see there a great Cross, and Christ thereon, and souls passing to and fro upon it, of such as were in this life Christian warriors.

FROM the centre to the circumference, and likewise from the circumference to the centre moves the water in a round vessel, according as it is struck within and without. Into my mind fell suddenly this which I say, so soon as the glorious life of Thomas was silent, through the similitude to

DAL centro al cerchio, e sì dal cerchio al centro
Muovesi l' acqua in un ritondo vaso,
Secondo ch' è percossa fuori o dentro.
Nella mia mente fe subito caso
Questo ch' io dico, sì come si tacque
La gloriosa vita di Tommaso,
Per la similitudine che nacque

1 sqq. Dante and Beatrice are standing at the centre of the circle formed by the spirits. When St. Thomas ceases, Beatrice takes up the discourse; and so the wave of sound first moves inward to the centre, and then back to the circumference.

6 **vita**: cf. xii. 127.

which his speech gave birth, and that of Beatrice, whom it pleased thus to begin after him: "For this man it is expedient, and he tells it you not with his voice, nor in thought as yet, to go to the root of another truth. Tell him if the light wherewith your substance is enflowered will remain eternally with you as it is now; and if it remains, tell him how, after that ye have been anew made

Del suo parlare e di quel di Beatrice,
A cui sì cominciar, dopo lui, piacque:[a]
A costui fa mestieri, e nol vi dice, 10
Nè colla voce, nè pensando ancora,
D' un altro vero andare alla radice.
Diteli se la luce, onde s' infiora
Vostra sustanzia, rimarrà con voi
Eternalmente, sì com' ella è ora:
E se rimane, dite come poi,
Che sarete visibili rifatti,

[a] *di com. Gg.*

[13] The questions concerning the glorified body are discussed in S. T. Suppl. Q. 72–75. They are of course based on such passages as Wisdom iii. 7, Matt. xiii. 43, 1 Cor. xv. 40–43. The first of the two ἀπορίαι which Beatrice puts on Dante's behalf is settled in Q. 75. A. 1: "Utrum corporibus gloriosis conveniet claritas"; the conclusion being: Ex scripturae verissimum auctoritate habetur, corpora sanctorum post resurrectionem lucida fore; quae claritas a gloria animae in corpus redundabit. The other point (ll. 16–18) does not seem to be definitely propounded by Aquinas, but may have been suggested by Q. 85. A. 2: "Utrum claritas illa videri poterit ab oculo non glorioso," and by some expressions in Q. 82. A. 4: "Utrum in beatis post resurrectionem sint omnes sensus in actu." Compare, for the contrary state of the damned, Inf. vi. 103 sqq., and xiii. 103 sqq.

[17] **visibili**: because at present only the light which surrounds the souls of the blessed can be seen. It will have been observed that in no case has Dante represented himself as able to discern any form or features, except possibly in that of Piccarda.

visible, it shall be possible for the sight of it not to hurt you."

As urged and drawn on by more delight all at once those who are going in a circle lift their voice and requicken their movements, so at her prayer ready and devout the holy circles showed a new joy in their turning and in their wondrous note. He who laments for that here one dies to live there on high, sees not the refreshment there of the eternal rain. That One and Two and Three which ever lives and ever reigns in Three and Two and One, not circumscribed, and circumscribes all things, was chanted thrice over by each of those spirits with a

Esser potrà ch' al veder non vi noi.
Come da più letizia pinti e tratti
Alla fiata quei, che vanno a ruota,[b] 20
Levan la voce, e rallegrano gli atti:[c]
Così all' orazion pronta e devota
Li santi cerchi mostrar nuova gioia,
Nel torneare, e nella mira nota.
Qual si lamenta, perchè qui si muoia,
Per vivér colassù, non vide quive
Lo refrigerio dell' eterna ploia.[d]
Quell' uno e due e tre, che sempre vive,
E regna sempre in tre e due ed uno,
Non circoscritto, e tutto circonscrive, 30
Tre volte era cantato da ciascuno
Di quelli spirti con tal melodia,

[b] *Alcuna f. Bi. Giul.* [c] *Muovon la v. Ald.* [d] *de la santa p. Gg.*

[18] **al veder.** Probably this should be written **a** 'l **v.**, the construction being exactly like *a riguardar* in Purg. iv. 54.

[20] The reading **alla fiata** (= Fr. *à la fois*) is obviously the correct one; **fiata** being a trisyllable.

[30] **Non circoscritto**: cf. Purg. xi. 2.

melody such that to every desert it would be a just reward. And I heard in the bright light of the lesser circle a modest voice, such as haply was the angel's to Mary, answer: "For so long as shall be the festival of Paradise, will our love

Ch' ad ogni merto saria giusto muno.
Ed io udii nella luce più dia [e]
Del minor cerchio una voce modesta,[f]
Forse qual fu dell' Angelo a Maria,
Risponder: quanto fia lunga la festa
Di Paradiso, tanto il nostro amore

[e] *nella voce Gg.* [f] *una luce Gg.*

34 Cf. x. 109, from which it appears that the speaker is Solomon. He is probably selected as being the presumed writer of the Book of Wisdom. Cf. also his function in Purg. xxx. 10 sqq.—**dia** occurs in xxiii. 107, and xxvi. 10. In the former passage it must mean "bright," in the latter it has its more literal meaning of "divine." Either will serve here, and practically the sense will be the same. Landino considers that the speaker is Peter Lombard; but only on the ground that he discusses the same question.

37 sqq. Dante's questions are: (1) Will the glory which now surrounds the souls of the blessed remain after the general resurrection, when they have again received their bodies; and (2) If so, how will the bodily organs be able to tolerate the brightness? The answer given by Solomon is to this effect. The glory will continue eternally, being proportionate to the ardour of our love (cf. Purg. xv. 69 sqq. and Par. xxviii. 109), which is proportionate to our sight of God, which again is proportionate to His free grace. (Observe the connection of **grazia**, **gratuito**, and **grato**; and cf. S. T. ii. 1. Q. 110. A. 1: Secundum communem modum loquendi, tripliciter gratia accipi consuevit. Uno modo, pro dilectione alicujus, sicut consuevimus dicere, quod iste miles habet gratiam regis, id est, rex habet eum gratum. Secundo, sumitur pro aliquo dono gratis dato, sicut consuevimus dicere. Hanc gratiam facio tibi. Tertio modo, sumitur pro recompensatione beneficii gratis dati, secundum quod dicimur agere gratias beneficiorum. So Q. 111. A. 1: Duplex est gratia. Una quidem, per quam ipse homo Deo conjungitur, quae vocatur gratia gratum faciens. Alia vero, per quam unus homo cooperatur alteri ad hoc quod ad Deum reducatur.

radiate around itself such a robe. Its brightness follows our ardour, our ardour our sight, and that is great in proportion as it has grace above its worth. When our flesh has been put on again glorious and holy, our personality will be

Sì raggerà dintorno cotal vesta.
La sua chiarezza seguita l' ardore,[g] 40
L' ardor la visione, e quella è tanta,
Quanta ha di grazia sopra suo valore.
Come la carne gloriosa e santa
Fia rivestita, la nostra persona

[g] *seguirà Cass. W.*

Hujusmodi autem donum vocatur gratia gratis data.) When we have our bodies, we shall be more acceptable to God, as being more perfect (S. T. ii. 1. Q. 4. A. 6: Cum naturale sit animae corpori uniri, non potest esse quod perfectio animae naturalem ejus perfectionem excludat. Et ideo dicendum est, quod ad beatitudinem omnibus modis perfectam requiritur perfecta dispositio corporis et antecedenter et consequenter); and thus our sight of God will increase, and therefore our ardour, and our glory in proportion. (It is to be observed that ardour secondarily denotes love, and glory, joy.) But the glorified body will be visible through the glory which surrounds it; and it will cause us no annoyance, because our organs will be adapted to receive the highest pleasure. (S. T. Suppl. Q. 82. A. 4.) Dante's language seems to be borrowed from Peter Lombard, Sentences iv. 45, 49: Cum facta fuerit resurrectio, bonorum gaudium amplius erit. . . . Majus erit gaudium sanctorum in resurrectione et post, quam fuerit ante; et quod diversa receptacula habebunt animae sanctorum. Sine omni scrupulo credendum est sanctos habituros majorem gloriam post judicium quam ante. (He adds a remark which is so characteristic of the freedom with which the Schoolmen sometimes treated theological points as to deserve quotation: Si quem movet quid opus sit spiritibus defunctorum corpora sua in resurrectione recipere, si eis potest sine corporibus summa beatitudo praeberi, difficilis quaestio est, nec potest a nobis perfecte definiri.)

40-42 Cf. P. Lombard again: Par gaudium omnes habebunt, etsi disparem cognitionis claritatem, quia per charitatem quae in singulis

more acceptable for being complete. Wherefore that which the highest Good gives us of unearned light will be increased; light which qualifies us to see Him; whence it is meet that our sight should grow, that the ardour should grow which of that is kindled, that the ray should grow which comes from that. But like as a coal which gives out flame, and through living glow surpasses that so that its appearance is preserved; so this brightness which already encircles us will be overcome in apparency by the flesh which all this

Più grata fia per esser tutta quanta:
Perchè s' accrescerà ciò che ne dona
Di gratuito lume il sommo Bene;
Lume, ch' a lui veder ne condiziona.
Onde la vision crescer conviene,
Crescer l' ardor che di quella s' accende,[h] 50
Crescer lo raggio che da esso viene.[i]
Ma sì come carbon che fiamma rende,
E per vivo candor quella soverchia,
Sì che la sua parvenza si difende,
Così questo fulgor, che già ne cerchia,
Fia vinto in apparenza dalla carne,

[h] *l' ardore ché di quella scende Gg.; . . . s' accende Cass.*
[i] *da quella v. Gg.; da essa* 23.

erit perfecta tantum quisque gaudebit de bono alterius quantum gauderet si in seipso haberet. See also S. T. i. Q. 12. A. 6: Intellectus plus participans de lumine gloriae perfectius Deum videbit. Plus autem participabit de lumine gloriae, qui plus habet de charitate. . . . Unde qui plus habebit de charitate perfectius Deum videbit, et beatior erit.

46-48 The question whether the glory of the blessed would increase after the judgement was finally settled, as we learn from Villani xi. 47, and decided in the affirmative by Benedict XII. in Consistory at Avignon, Jan. 29, 133⅝

while the earth covers; nor will so great light have power to weary us, for the organs of the body shall be strong towards all that which can give us delight." So quick and attentive appeared to me both one and the other choir to say "Amen," that they plainly showed a desire of their dead bodies: haply not only for themselves, but for their mothers, for their fathers, and for the others who were dear to them, before they were flames everlasting. And behold all around a lustre of like brightness arise, upon that which was there, in fashion of an horizon that grows bright again. And as at the rising of early evening new appearances begin about the heaven, so that the sight seems and seems not true; meseemed I there began to see new sub-

Che tutto dì la terra ricoperchia: [k]
Nè potrà tanta luce affaticarne,
Chè gli organi del corpo saran forti
A tutto ciò che potrà dilettarne. 60
Tanto mi parver subiti ed accorti
E l' uno e l' altro coro a dicere Amme,
Che ben mostrar disio dei corpi morti:
Forse non pur per lor, ma per le mamme,
Per li padri, e per gli altri che fur cari,
Anzi che fosser sempiterne fiamme.
Ed ecco intorno di chiarezza pari
Nascer un lustro sopra quel che v' era,
A guisa d' orizzonte che rischiari.
E sì come al salir di prima sera 70
Comincian per lo ciel nuove parvenze,
Sì che la vista pare e non par vera; [l]

[k] *la carne ric.* 145. [l] *la cosa p. Ald. Land.*

67 **ecco** with infin.: cf. Inf. iii. 82. See Diez iii. 174.

stances, and that they made a circle outside of the other two circumferences. O true sparkling of the Holy Spirit, how sudden and glowing did it become to my eyes, so that overcome they endured it not. But Beatrice showed herself to me so fair and smiling, that it must be left among the other things seen which have not followed my mind.

Therefrom my eyes again took faculty of raising themselves, and I saw myself translated alone with my Lady to a more lofty salvation. Well observed I that I had been lifted higher, through the fiery smile of the star, which appeared to me more ruddy than its wont. With all my

Parvemi lì novelle sussistenze
  Cominciare a vedere, e fare un giro
  Di fuor dall' altre due circonferenze.
O vero sfavillar del santo spiro,
  Come si fece subito e candente
  Agli occhi miei, che vinti nol soffriro!
Ma Beatrice sì bella e sì ridente[m]
  Mi si mostrò, che tra l' altre vedute 80
  Si vuol lasciar, che non seguir la mente.
Quindi ripreser gli occhi miei virtute
  A rilevarsi, e vidimi translato
  Sol con mia Donna a più alta salute
Ben m' accors' io ch' i' era più levato,
  Per l' affocato riso della stella,
  Che mi parea più roggio che l' usato.

[m] *e ridente* 3 *Ald. W.*

79 I have followed Gg. Cass. and three of the four edd. in repeating **sì**, which seems required to make the line scan; **Beatrice** being almost invariably a trisyllable.

81 Cf. i. 9.

84 They ascend to the sphere of Mars.

heart, and with that speech which is one in all men, I made a whole burnt-offering to God, such as beseemed the new favour; and not yet was exhausted from my breast the heat of the sacrifice, when I knew that that offering was accepted and propitious: for with so great a lustre and so ruddy appeared to me splendours within two rays, that I said: "O Elios, who dost so deck them!"

As, stippled with greater and lesser lights, the Galaxy

Con tutto il cuore, e con quella favella
  Ch' è una in tutti, a Dio feci olocausto,
  Qual conveniasi alla grazia novella: 90
E non er' anco del mio petto esausto
  L' ardor del sacrificio, ch' io conobbi
  Esso litare stato accetto e fausto:
Chè con tanto lucore, e tanto robbi
  M' apparvero splendor dentro a due raggi,
  Ch' io dissi: O Eliòs, che sì gli addobbi.
Come distinta da minori e maggi[n]

[n] *distinti Gg.* 1234; *min. a maggi Cass.; i maggi* 145; *in m.* 2 *Ald.; i magi* 3.

88 **favella.** "Nämlich mit der Stimme des Herzens."—Philal.

89 **olocausto.** S. T. ii. 2. Q. 186. A. 1: Religiosi dicuntur illi qui se totaliter mancipant divino servitio, quasi holocaustum Deo offerentes. A. 3: Qui nihil sibi reservant, offerunt holocaustum, quod est majus sacrificio. The appropriateness of the term here is seen from the previous part of the same article; e.g. voluntaria paupertas est efficax exercitium perveniendi ad perfectam charitatem; ideo multum valet ad caelestem beatitudinem consequendam.

96 **Eliòs**; probably ἥλιος in the first instance. Though Dante did not know Greek, we have evidence that he knew a few Greek words, and such a word as ἥλιος would be as likely as any to be familiar. At the same time it is quite possible that he identified it with the Hebrew "Eli," just as he did "Giove" with "Jehovah."

97 **distinta,** "pricked out."

gleams white between the poles of the world, so that it makes very sages to doubt; thus constellated in the depths of Mars those rays were making the venerable sign which the junctures of quadrants in a circle form. Here my memory outdoes my wit; for so upon that Cross Christ was flashing, that I can find no meet similitude. But whoso takes up his cross and follows Christ, will still excuse me for that which I leave unsaid, when in that dawn he sees Christ lightening. From horn to horn, and between the summit and the base, lights were moving, sparkling strongly at their

Lumi biancheggia tra i poli del mondo
Galassia sì che fa dubbiar ben saggi,
Sì costellati facean nel profondo 100
Marte quei raggi il venerabil segno,
Che fan giunture di quadranti in tondo.[o]
Qui vince la memoria mia lo ingegno:
Chè in quella Croce lampeggiava CRISTO,
Sì ch' io non so trovare esempio degno.[p]
Ma chi prende sua croce e segue CRISTO,
Ancor mi scuserà di quel ch' io lasso,
Vedendo in quell' albor balenar CRISTO.[q]
Di corno in corno, e tra la cima e il basso,
Si mòvean lumi, scintillando forte 110

[o] *virtute* 145. [p] *so veder Ald.* [q] *albero Gg.*

[99] See Ar. Meteor. i. 8, for early theories about the Galaxy.

[100] Perhaps suggested by the phenomenon, whatever it may have been, to which he refers, Conv. ii. 14: In Fiorenza, nel principio di sua distruzione, veduta fu nell' aere, in figura d' una Croce, grande quantità di questi vapori seguaci della stella di Marte. Possibly this was the comet mentioned by Villani viii. 48, as having appeared in September, 1301.

[104] Observe that in the four passages where Dante uses the word **Cristo** at the end of a line, he never allows any other word to rhyme to it.

meeting together and at their passing. Thus are seen here, straight and twisted, swift and slow, changing appearance, the particles of bodies, long and short, to move through the ray wherewith at times the shade is bordered which folk acquire with art and wit for their protection. And as viol and harp in a tense tempering of many strings make a sweet tinkling to one by whom the tune is not heard, so from the lights which there appeared to me, there was gathering through the Cross a melody which ravished me without hearing the hymn. Well I perceived that it was of high

Nel congiungersi insieme e nel trapasso :
Così si veggion qui diritte e torte,
Veloci e tarde, rinnovando vista,
Le minuzie dei corpi lunghe e corte,
Muoversi per lo raggio, onde si lista
Tal volta l' ombra, che per sua difesa
La gente con ingegno ed arte acquista.
E come giga ed arpa in tempra tesa
Di molte corde, fan dolce tintinno
A tal, da cui la nota non è intesa, 120
Così dai lumi che lì m' apparinno,
S' accogliea per la Croce una melode,
Che mi rapiva senza intender l' inno.
Ben m' accors' io ch' ella era d' alte lode,

112 sqq. Evidently suggested by Lucr. ii. 115 sqq. Cf. especially ll. 116, 117 :

> " Multa *minuta* modis multis per inane videbis
> *Corpora* misceri *radiorum* lumine in ipso."

117 **ingegno ed arte.** See note to Purg. xxvii. 130.

120 **nota :** the melody or air ; as in x. 81 ; xix. 98. (In the last passage it seems to include the words ; much as here.)

praises, because to me came "Arise and conquer", as to him who understands not, and hears. So enamoured I thereof became, that up to then there was nothing that had bound me with withes so sweet. Perhaps my word appears too bold, in placing after it the pleasure of the fair eyes, gazing whereon my longing has repose. But he who considers that the living seals of all beauty being more on high

Perocchè a me venia: Risurgi, e vinci,
Com' a colui, che non intende, ed ode.
Io m' innamorava tanto quinci,
Che in fino a lì non fu alcuna cosa,
Che mi legasse con sì dolci vinci.
Forse la mia parola par tropp' osa, 130
Posponendo il piacer degli occhi belli,
Nei quai mirando mio disio ha posa.[r]
Ma chi s' avvede che i vivi suggelli[s]
D' ogni bellezza più fanno più suso,[t]

[r] *Nel qual Gg.; ne iqual* 3.
[s] *qui savede chen v.* 145. [t] *Ogni b. Gg.*

125 **Risurgi e vinci.** These words are addressed by the blessed to Christ. It is possible that Witte is right in taking them as in the indicative mood, "Thou dost arise and conquer"; but the imperative is more in the style of such passages as Dante may be supposed to have had in his mind.

130 sqq. Daniello is probably right in interpreting these lines to mean merely that as Dante had not looked at Beatrice since they entered the heaven of Mars, he had not yet seen the latest development of the beauty of her eyes, and so was free to say that the chant of the blessed gave him the highest pleasure which he had yet received. For the effect when he does perceive it, see ll. 34–36 of the next Canto. Some take **dischiuso** as in vii. 102, in the sense of "excluded"; the idea apparently being that while the pleasure arising from the sight of the eyes of Beatrice is the highest joy in each ascending circle, it is surpassed in any given circle by the other joys of the next higher.

have more effect, and that in that place I had not turned me to those, can excuse me for that whereof I accuse myself for my excuse, and can see that I say true: for the holy pleasure has not been here disclosed, because as one mounts up, it grows more pure.

E ch' io non m' era lì rivolto a quelli;
Escusar puommi di quel ch' io m' accuso
Per iscusarmi, e vedermi dir vero;
Chè il piacer santo non è qui dischiuso,
Perchè si fa, montando, più sincero.

CANTO XV.

ARGUMENT.

Dante is greeted by his forefather Cacciaguida, who tells him of the simple and tranquil state of Florence in past time; and of his family.

A BENIGN will, into which is dissolved always the love which inspires righteously, as evil concupiscence is into the unjust will, laid a silence on that sweet lyre, and set at rest the holy strings which the right hand of heaven

BENIGNA volontade, in che si liqua[a]
Sempre l' amor che drittamente spira,
Come cupidità fa nell' iniqua,
Silenzio pose a quella dolce lira,
E fece quietar le sante corde,
Che la destra del cielo allenta e tira.

[a] *in cui Ald. W.*

[1] **si liqua.** There can be little doubt that this represents, as Blanc says, the Latin *liquatur* and not, as most of the old commentators deem, *liquet.* Not only is the form of the word against the latter view; but it is improbable that *liquet* could have got a transitive sense. Dante was probably thinking of St. Thomas's phrase (S. T. ii. 1. Q. 19. A. 8): Quia etiam ipsa intentio quodammodo pertinet ad actum voluntatis, inquantum scilicet est ratio ejus; propter hoc *redundat* quantitas bonae intentionis in voluntatem. With this the reading *in che* agrees better than *in cui.*

loosens and draws up. How shall they be deaf to just prayers, those substances who to give me will to pray them were of one accord to hold their peace? Meet is it that he suffer without end who for the sake of a thing that endures not, strips him eternally of that love.

As through the skies of night, tranquil and pure, a sudden fire now and then speeds away, causing the eyes to move which were still and careless, and seems a star

Come saranno ai giusti prieghi sorde
  Quelle sustanze, che per darmi voglia
  Ch' io le pregassi a tacer fur concorde?
Ben è che senza termine si doglia 10
  Chi per amor di cosa che non duri,
  Eternalmente quell' amor si spoglia.
Quale per li seren tranquilli e puri
  Discorre ad ora ad or subito fuoco,
  Movendo gli occhi che stavan sicuri,
E pare stella che tramuti loco,

10-12 Eternal punishment is due to those who have preferred temporal pleasure to eternal love. There is a difference of opinion as to whether **eternalmente** qualifies **duri** or **si spoglia**. Either view involves a certain pleonasm. I have followed Witte; understanding **eternalmente** to be suggested by S. T. Suppl. Q. 99. A. 1 (where the eternity of future punishment is discussed): Alia ratio est quia homo in suo aeterno peccavit. Unde Gregorius dicit, Ad magnam justitiam judicantis pertinet, ut nunquam careant supplicio, qui in hac vita nunquam voluerunt carere peccato. See also in a former part of the same article: pro peccato mortali quod est contrarium charitati, aliquis in aeternum a societate sanctorum exclusus, aeternae poenae addicitur. So Comm. Gg.: Quia quantum in se est peccat eternaliter.

13 *Sereno* is constantly used of the sky at night, possibly by a false derivation from *sera*. See note to Purg. vii. 73. Scartazzini quotes appositely Ov. Met. ii. 321: ut interdum de caelo stella sereno Etsi non cecidit, potuit cecidisse videri. Cf. also Purg. v. 37, 38.

changing place, save that in the quarter whence it is kindled no one is lost, and itself lasts but a little; such, from the horn that extends to the right, to the foot of that cross, ran a star of the constellation which beams there; nor did the gem depart from its riband, but traversed the band that was the radius, that it seemed fire behind alabaster. So kind the shade of Anchises showed himself, if our greatest Muse deserves belief, when in Elysium he was aware of his son.

"*O sanguis meus, o super infusa gratia Dei; sicut tibi,*

Se non che dalla parte, onde s' accende,
Nulla sen perde ed esso dura poco;
Tale dal corno, che in destro si stende,
Al piè di quella Croce corse un astro 20
Della costellazion che lì risplende;
Nè si partì la gemma dal suo nastro;
Ma per la lista radial trascorse,
Che parve fuoco dietro ad alabastro:
Sì pia l' ombra d' Anchise si porse,
(Se fede merta nostra maggior Musa)
Quando in Elisio del figliuol s' accorse.
O sanguis meus, o super infusa
Gratia Dei; sicut tibi, cui

[26] The allusion is to Aen. vi. 684 sqq.

[28] "O my race, O grace of God shed over thee! to whom was ever the gate of heaven, as to thee, twice opened?" The speaker is Cacciaguida, Dante's great-great-grandfather, said to have been born 1106, died 1147. Nothing is known with any certainty of him except what may be gathered from this and the following Cantos, even his surname being doubtful, though often given as "degli Elisei." He married one of the Aldighieri of Parma or Ferrara, who seems to have given her name to the family (see line 138).

cui bis umquam caeli janua reclusa?" Thus that light; wherefore I gave heed to it; then I turned back to my Lady my gaze, and on this side and on that was astounded; for within her eyes was glowing a smile such that I thought with mine to be touching the depth of the grace given to me and of my Paradise. Then, joyful to hear and to see, the spirit joined to his beginning things which I comprehended not, so deep was his speech. Nor through choice did he make concealment from me, but through necessity, because his conception was placed higher than the mark of mortals. And when the bow of his ardent affection was so slackened that his speech descended towards the mark of our understanding, the first thing

Bis umquam caeli janua reclusa?[b] 30
Così quel lume; ond' io m' attesi a lui:
Poscia rivolsi alla mia Donna il viso,
E quinci e quindi stupefatto fui;
Chè dentro agli occhi suoi ardeva un riso
Tal, ch' io pensai coi miei toccar lo fondo
Della mia grazia e del mio Paradiso.
Indi ad udire ed a veder giocondo
Giunse lo spirito al suo principio cose,
Ch' io non intesi, sì parlò profondo:
Nè per elezion mi si nascose, 40
Ma per necessità; che il suo concetto
Al segno del mortal si soprappose.
E quando l' arco dell' ardente affetto
Fu sì sfogato, che il parlar discese
Inver lo segno del nostro intelletto;
La prima cosa che per me s' intese,

[b] *nunquam Gg. Cass.* 3.

that was by me understood was, "Blessed be Thou, threefold and one, who in my seed showest so great kindness." And he pursued: "A grateful and long-lasting hunger, contracted by reading in the great volume where white and black are never changed, hast thou loosed, my son, within this light in which I speak to thee, thanks to her who clad thee with the feathers for thy lofty flight. Thou deemest that thy thought travels to me from that which is first, just as from one radiate, if one knows it, five and six. And therefore who I am and wherefore I appear to thee more

Benedetto sie Tu, fu, trino ed uno,
Che nel mio seme sei tanto cortese.
E seguitò: Grato e lontan digiuno
Tratto leggendo nel magno volume,[c] 50
U' non si muta mai bianco nè bruno,
Soluto hai, figlio, dentro a questo lume,
In ch' io ti parlo, mercè di colei,
Ch' all' alto volo ti vestì le piume.
Tu credi, che a me tuo pensier mei
Da quel ch' è primo, così come raia
Dall' un, se si conosce, il cinque e il sei.
E però ch' io mi sia, e perch' io paia[d]

[c] *maggior v. Gg. Ald.* [d] *e chio mi paia Gg.; e pero chio mi* 2.

50 **volume**: i.e. the mind of God, which, as we have already seen, is revealed immediately to the spirits of the blessed.

51 I.e. wherein that which is written is never effaced. Possibly there is an allusion to Rev. xxii. 18, 19.

54 Observe the repetition of this metaphor in ll. 72, 81. It seems not unlikely to have been suggested by the resemblance of *voler* and *volar*.

56, 57 Cf. Met. μ. 6 (1080a): *ὁ μαθηματικὸς ἀριθμεῖται μετὰ τὸ ἓν δύο, πρὸς τῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἑνὶ ἄλλο ἕν, καὶ τὰ τρία πρὸς τοῖς δυσὶ τούτοις ἄλλο ἕν.*

joyous than any other in this blithe crowd, thou enquirest not. Thou deemest what is true, for less and great of this life gaze upon the mirror, in which before that thou thinkest, thou displayest thy thought. But in order that the holy love, wherein I watch with perpetual vision, and which makes me thirsty with a sweet desire, may be the better fulfilled, let thy voice secure, bold, and joyful, sound forth thy will, sound forth thy desire, to which my response is already decreed."

I turned round to Beatrice, and she heard before I spoke, and smiled on me a sign, which made the wings

Più gaudioso a te, non mi dimandi,
Che alcun altro in questa turba gaia. 60
Tu credi il vero; chè minori e grandi
Di questa vita miran nello speglio,
In che, prima che pensi, il pensier pandi.
Ma perchè il sacro amore, in che io veglio
Con perpetua vista, e che m' asseta
Di dolce disiar, s' adempia meglio;
La voce tua sicura balda e lieta
Suoni la volontà, suoni il desio,
A che la mia risposta è già decreta.
I' mi volsi a Beatrice: e quella udìo 70
Pria ch' io parlassi, e arrisemi un cenno,[e]
Che fece crescer l' ali al voler mio:

[e] *arrosemi* 14 *Ald. W.; arrossemi* 3.

73 sqq. The general drift of this passage is clear enough, namely, that as the blessed have immediate sight of God, in whom all attributes exist in equality, their wish to know and their power of knowing are equal; whereas in mortals the one outstrips the other. It is however difficult to believe that Dante had not in his mind the phraseology of certain passages from the exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity in S. T. i.

to my will grow; then I began thus: "The affection and the thought, when as the first Equality appeared to you, became of one weight for each of you: seeing that to the Sun which illumined and warmed you with heat and with His light, they are so equal that all resemblances fall short. But will and expression in mortals, through the cause

means

E cominciai così: L' affetto e il senno
Come la prima egualità v' apparse,
D' un peso per ciascun di voi si fenno:
Però chè al Sol, che v' allumò ed arse[f]
Col caldo e con la luce, en sì iguali,[g]
Che tutte simiglianze sono scarse.
Ma voglia ed argomento nei mortali,

[f] *il sol Gg. W.; chel sole Cass.* 1234; *nallumo* 14.
[g] *è si iguali Gg. W.* 23; *luce si Cass.; et si* 14.

Take for instance Q. 28. Art. 4: In his in quibus differt intellectus et intellectum, volens et volitum, potest esse realis relatio, et scientiae ad rem scitum, et volentis ad rem volitum: sed in Deo est idem omnino intellectus et intellectum, ... et eadem ratione voluntas et volitum. Unde in Deo hujusmodi relationes non sunt reales . . . . sed tamen relatio ad Verbum est realis; quia verbum intelligitur ut procedens per actionem intelligibilem, non autem ut res intellecta. And below: Aequalitas et similitudo in Deo non sunt relationes reales, sed rationis tantum. And cf. Q. 42. Art. 4, where the equality of the Son with the Father is discussed. This passage would thus seem to be one of the many in this part of the poem, beginning with Canto X., in which the doctrine of the Trinity is more or less directly stated or suggested.

74 **Come**, as in xii. 58 = "from the time that"; Gr. ἐπεί.

79 **voglia ed argomento** in mortals are the equivalents of **affetto e senno** among the blessed. The latter words are never used by Dante in a bad sense, whereas the former may be bad or good. **argomento** here implies not merely the conception, as in Inf. xxxi. 55, but also the power of expressing it; language being the instrument (in which sense we have *argomento*, e.g. Purg. ii. 31) of thought. So P. di Dante: argumentum, i.e. possibilitas, non correspondet voluntati.

which to you is manifest, are diversely endued with feathers on their wings. Whence I, who am mortal, feel myself in this inequality, and therefore I give not thanks save with the heart for the fatherly greeting. Truly I implore thee, living topaz who dost ingem this precious jewel, that thou wouldst make me satisfied with thy name."

"O leaf of mine, in whom, waiting only, I took delight, I was thy root"; such beginning in answer made he me. Afterward he said to me: "He from whom thy family is called, and who a hundred years and more has circled the mountain, upon its first cornice, was my son and thy great-grandfather: right meet is it that thou shorten for him

Per la cagion ch' a voi è manifesta, 80
Diversamente son pennuti in ali.
Ond' io, che son mortal, mi sento in questa
Disagguaglianza, e però non ringrazio,
Se non col cuore, alla paterna festa.
Ben supplico io a te, vivo topazio,
Che questa gioia preziosa ingemmi,
Perchè mi facci del tuo nome sazio.
O fronda mia, in che io compiacemmi,
Pure aspettando, io fui la tua radice:
Cotal principio, rispondendo, femmi. 90
Poscia mi disse: Quel, da cui si dice
Tua cognazione, e che cent' anni e piue
Girato ha il monte in la prima cornice,[h]
Mio figlio fu, e tuo bisavo fue:
Ben si convien, che la lunga fatica[i]
Tu gli raccorci con l' opere tue.

[h] *Girato al monte la p. Gg.* *la prima f. Gg.*

[9r] **quel**: i.e. Alighiero.

his long weariness with thy works. Florence, within the ancient circle whence still she takes both tierce and nones, was standing at peace, sober and chaste. She had not chain nor coronet, nor dames in rich attire, nor girdle such as to be looked at more than the wearer. She made not yet the daughter at her birth a fear to her father, for time and the dowry fled not their due measure on this side and on

Fiorenza dentro dalla cerchia antica,[k]
  Ond' ella toglie ancora e terza e nona,
  Si stava in pace sobria e pudica.
Non avea catenella, non corona,[l] 100
  Non donne contigiate, non cintura,[m]
  Che fosse a veder più che la persona.
Non faceva nascendo ancor paura
  La figlia al padre, che il tempo e la dote
  Non fuggian quinci e quindi la misura.[n]

[k] *dalle mura Gg.* [l] *e non Gg.* [m] *contessate e non Gg.* [n] *fu gia Gg.*

97 **cerchia antica**, the old wall, which passed close to the Benedictine monastery now called the Badia. This is opposite the Bargello, where the famous portrait of Dante is preserved. Its chimes seem to have been notable for the accuracy with which they kept time. With the whole of this cf. Villani vi. 69: Nota, che al tempo del detto popolo, e in prima, i cittadini di Firenze viveano sobrii, e di grosse vivande, e con piccole spese, etc. Scartazzini quotes the entire passage. Chaps. i.–xiv. of Villani's fourth book should also be read in conjunction with this and the following Canto.

99 **in pace**. Villani v. 9: Nel detto medesimo anno (1177) si cominciò in Firenze dissensione e guerra grande tra' cittadini, che mai non era più stata in Firenze. He adds what is significant, "e ciò fu per troppa grassezza e *riposo*."

103 It is necessary, in order to preserve the balance of the sentences from l. 100 to l. 108, that we should take **Fiorenza** and not **figlia** as the subject of **faceva**.

103 I.e. "lest the daughter should be too old, or the dowry too small." The commentators note that when luxury and corruption had

that. She had no houses void of a household; Sardanapalus was not yet come there, to show what can be done in chamber. Not yet was Montemalo surpassed by your Uccellatoio, which as it has been surpassed in its rise shall so be in its fall. I have seen Bellincione Berti go girt in leather and in bone, and his dame come from the

Non avea case di famiglia vote;
  Non v' era giunto ancor Sardanapalo
  A mostrar ciò che in camera si puote.
Non era vinto ancora Montemalo
  Dal vostro Uccellatoio, che com' è vinto 110
  Nel montar su, così sarà nel calo.
Bellincion Berti vid' io andar cinto
  Di cuoio e d' osso, e venir dallo specchio
  La donna sua, senza il viso dipinto:°

° *senza avere il v.* 2; *volto W.*

set in, it was usual for girls to marry very early. But I should prefer to understand the words as meaning "lest she should have passed the flower of her age, before he could offer a sufficient dowry."

[106] Small families then, as now, were characteristic of a profligate and luxurious society. There may be, as Bianchi thinks, an allusion to the vices hinted at in Ephesians v. 11, 12.

[107] P. di Dante is doubtless right in understanding the allusion as being to Juv. x. 362: et Venere, et cenis, et pluma Sardanapali.

[108] **in camera**: cf. Eng. "chambering."

[109, 110] Montemalo, or Monte Mario, on the road from Viterbo, is the point whence a traveller from the north first catches sight of Rome. The hill called Uccellatoio, on the road from Bologna, stands similarly with regard to Florence. The meaning thus is that Florence did not then, as in the fourteenth century, surpass Rome in the splendour of its buildings.

[112] "Bellincione Berti de' Rovignani, onorevole cittadino di Firenze," is mentioned by Villani, iv. 1. He was the father of Gualdrada (Inf. xvi. 37), from whom sprang the famous house of the Conti Guidi (Vill. v. 37).

mirror without her face painted; and I have seen De' Nerli and Del Vecchio be contented in their uncovered skin-coats, and their dames at the spindle and the distaff. O fortunate ones! and each was certain of her sepulture, and as yet none was deserted in her bed by reason of France. One would watch in care of the cradle, and comforting would use the dialect which first makes pastime for fathers and mothers; the other drawing the thread upon the distaff

E vidi quel dei Nerli, e quel del Vecchio[p]
  Esser contenti alla pelle scoverta,
  E le sue donne al fuso ed al pennecchio.
O fortunate! e ciascuna era certa
  Della sua sepoltura, ed ancor nulla
  Era per Francia nel letto deserta. 120
L' una vegghiava a studio della culla,
  E consolando usava l' idioma,
  Che pria li padri e le madri trastulla:
L' altra traendo alla rocca la chioma,

[p] *da N. Gg.; di N. Cass.* 14.

115 The Nerli and Vecchietti were noble Guelf families. They appear frequently in early Florentine history, and seem to have shared the same fortunes. Both were banished in 1260, and both in 1300 were divided between the Black and White parties.

119 **sepoltura.** Looking to Purg. viii. 79, this would seem to mean that a wife would know whose arms would be on her tomb, i.e. would be sure of not marrying a second time.

120 Lubin quotes Villani vi. 85: Si dice per molti antichi che l' uscita dei guelfi di Firenze fu cagione di loro ricchezza; perciocche molti Fiorentini usciti n' andarono oltremonti in Francia a guadagnare, che prima non erano mai usati, onde poi molte ricchezze ne reddiro in Firenze; and with this the interpretation of the older commentators agrees. But it would seem almost better to understand the allusion to be to the banishment of the White party by Charles of Valois in 1302 (Villani viii. 49).

would tell tales with her household of the Trojans, and of Fiesole, and of Rome. Then would have been held as great a marvel a Cianghella or a Lapo Salterello as now would be Cincinnatus or Cornelia. To so tranquil, to so fair a life of citizens, to so trusty a citizenship, to so sweet a sojourn, Mary gave me, summoned in loud cries: and in your ancient Baptistery I became at once a Christian and Cacciaguida. Moronto was my brother and Eliseo: my wife came to me from Vale of Po, and thence thy surname arose. Then I followed the Emperor Conrad, and

Favoleggiava con la sua famiglia
Dei Troiani e di Fiesole e di Roma.
Saria tenuta allor tal maraviglia
Una Cianghella, un Lapo Salterello,
Qual or saria Cincinnato e Corniglia.
A così riposato, a così bello 130
Viver di cittadini, a così fida
Cittadinanza, a così dolce ostello,
Maria mi diè, chiamata in alte grida;
E nell' antico vostro Batisteo
Insieme fui Cristiano e Cacciaguida.
Moronto fu mio frate ed Eliseo:
Mia donna venne a me di Val di Pado,
E quindi il soprannome tuo si feo.

126 I.e. of the cities whence Florence was descended.

128 Cianghella de' Tosinghi was, according to Benvenuto (a countryman of whom she married), a lady of Florence, notorious for her light conduct. Of Lapo Salterello he (as copied by Comm. Gg.) says: Iste fuit jurista, vir religiosus [? litigiosus] et linguosus, multum infestus Danti tempore sui exilii. At the same time Lapo is said to have belonged to Dante's own party, the White Guelfs.

133 **Maria**: cf. Purg. xx. 15–21.

he belted me of his soldiery, so high in his favour did I come through good work. After him I went against the iniquity of that law whose people usurps, through the Pastor's fault, your jurisdiction. There was I at the hands of that foul folk unwrapped from the deceitful world, the love of which defiles many souls; and I came from the martyrdom to this peace."

Poi seguitai lo imperador Corrado,
  Ed ei mi cinse della sua milizia, 140
  Tanto per bene oprar gli venni in grado.
Dietro gli andai incontro alla nequizia
  Di quella legge, il cui popolo usurpa,
  Per colpa del Pastor, vostra giustizia.[q]
Quivi fu' io da quella gente turpa
  Disviluppato dal mondo fallace,
  Il cui amor molte anime deturpa,
E venni dal martirio a questa pace.

[q] *di pastor Gg. Cass.* 14; *de pastori* 2; *de* 3; *dei W.*

[139] Conrad III., the first of the Hohenstauffen, was emperor 1138–1152. In 1147, moved by the preaching of St. Bernard, he undertook the disastrous second Crusade, in company with Lewis VII. of France.

[143] **quella legge**: Islam.

[144] Cf. ix. 125, 126.

[148] As having died for the faith, he passed at once to heaven.

CANTO XVI.

ARGUMENT.

Cacciaguida pursues his discourse of Florence; showing what houses were formerly great, and notes the troubles which have fallen on the city.

O SMALL nobility of blood that is ours, if thou makest folk to boast of thee here below where our affection is feeble, never will it be a wondrous thing to me; for there, where appetite goes not awry, I mean in heaven, I boasted me thereof. Surely thou art a cloak which quickly grows

O POCA nostra nobiltà di sangue,
  Se gloriar di te la gente fai
  Quaggiù, dove l'affetto nostro langue,
Mirabil cosa non mi sarà mai:
  Che là, dove appetito non si torce,
  Dico nel Cielo, io me ne gloriai.
Ben sei tu manto che tosto raccorce,

[1] If even in Heaven, where no false object can attract the desires, I could be touched by family pride, what wonder if we feel it on earth?

[3] **langue**: cf. Purg. xvi. 91.

[7-9] In order that he may not seem to have rated too highly the credit of possessing a noble ancestry, he hastens to explain that unless succeeding generations act so as to maintain their inherited honour, it quickly perishes. See Conv. iv. 7: E così quelli che dal padre o da

too short, so that if one adds not from day to day, time goes round about with his shears.

With the "You" that Rome was the first to endure, wherein her family little perseveres, began again my words. Wherefore Beatrice, who was a little apart, smiling, seemed like her who coughed at the first fault that is written of Guinivere.

Sì che se non s'appon di die in die,
Lo tempo va dintorno con le force.
Dal *voi*, che prima Roma sofferìe,[a] 10
In che la sua famiglia men persevra,
Rincominciaron le parole mie:
Onde Beatrice, ch' era un poco scevra,
Ridendo, parve quella che tossìo
Al primo fallo scritto di Ginevra.

[a] *Dal huom* 145.

alcuno suo maggiore di schiatta è nobilitato, e non persevera in quella, non solamente è vile, ma vilissimo.

[10] **voi.** See Diez iii. 50. He says that the use of the second person plural to indicate respect came in originally as the converse of the imperial "nos." Cf. Purg. xxx. 73.

[11] The commentators state that at this time the Romans were peculiar in the universal use of *tu*. See Landino ad loc.

[13] **un poco scevra**: generally understood as symbolical of the absence of theology from the present conversation. Comm. Gg. however has "i.e. separata ab auctore, quia modicum trahebatur a vento gloriae et sic modicum recesserat a beatrice."

[14, 15] There is some difficulty in ascertaining the point of this allusion, owing to the fact that we appear to have lost the exact version, perhaps that of Arnald Daniel (Witte), of the Lancelot romance which Dante used. Those that exist merely mention that a certain Dame Malehault was a witness of the first kiss between Lancelot and Guinivere. The older commentators mostly say that the cough was a sign that she observed what was taking place. Thus Ottimo: tossío in segno che avveduta s'era del fallo della reina. Comm. Cass.: tuxivit videndo reginam Gineveram obsculari a Lancialotto. Comm. Gg.

I began: "You are my father, you give me all boldness to speak, you lift me so that I am more than I. Through so many streams is filled with gladness my mind, that it takes of itself joy for that it can endure so that it breaks not in pieces. Tell me therefore, dear my origin, who were your ancestors, and what were the years that were noted in your boyhood. Tell me of the sheepfold of

Io cominciai: Voi siete il padre mio;
  Voi mi date a parlar tutta baldezza;[b]
  Voi mi levate sì, ch' io son più ch' io.
Per tanti rivi s' empie d' allegrezza
  La mente mia, che di sè fa letizia 20
  Perchè può sostener che non si spezza.
Ditemi dunque, cara mia primizia,
  Quai fur gli vostri antichi, e quai fur gli anni,[c]
  Che si segnaro in vostra puerizia?
Ditemi dell' ovil di san Giovanni,

[b] *tanta b. Gg.*
[c] *Quai son Ald.*(1); *antichi vostri Gg.*

with more detail: cum lancialottus pervenisset ad colloquium cum regina genevra opera principis galeotti, nec audebat prae nimis pudore pandere flammam amoris sui, princeps galeottus interposuit se et fecit illos pervenire ad osculum tunc quaedam domina nomine dannuna socia reginae perpendens de actu tussivit et spuit q. d. te video. Ita in proposito beatrix risit nunc q. dicens bene audio te, ut tu bene audires cave quid dicas. This seems the best explanation (cf. Purg. xxviii. 146), though Landino and others suggest that the cough, and so Beatrice's smile, were meant for encouragement. It may be noted that Malory, while he knows nothing of this story, mentions a somewhat similar occurrence, in which the cougher is Guinivere herself. See King Arthur, Part III., chap. viii.

[25] **ovil**; so Villani iv. 10: la porta del Duomo che fu il primo ovile e stazzo della rifatta Firenze.

St. John, how large it then was, and who were the folk within it worthy of the highest seats."

As a coal quickens at the breathing of the winds into a flame, so saw I that light shine in answer to my persuasions. And as to my eyes it became more fair, so with a voice more soft and sweet, but not with this modern speech it said to me: "From that day that Ave was said, to the birth in which my mother who now is a saint was delivered of me, with whom she was great, five hundred and fifty-three times came this fire to its Lion, to re-enflame

Quant' era allora, e chi eran le genti
Tra esso degne di più alti scanni?
Come s' avviva allo spirar dei venti
Carbone in fiamma, così vidi quella
Luce risplendere ai miei blandimenti: 30
E come agli occhi miei si fe più bella,
Così con voce più dolce e soave,
Ma non con questa moderna favella,
Dissemi: Da quel dì, che fu detto AVE
Al parto, in che mia madre, ch' è or santa,
S' alleviò di me ond' era grave,
Al suo Leon cinquecento cinquanta
E tre fiate venne questo fuoco [d]

[d] *trenta Gg.* 12345 *Ald. W.*

37-39 If we read **tre fiate**, and put the period of Mars at two years, which from a comparison of Conv. ii. 15 may be taken to have been Dante's estimate, we shall get 1106 as the date of Cacciaguida's birth. Those, and they are the majority, who read *trenta*, suppose Dante to have taken the correct period (of which he may have been aware, as it is given by Ptolemy), viz. 687 days approximately, which will give 1091 as the year in question. The objections to this are (1) that **fiate** is hardly ever a dissyllable, if indeed the few passages in which it appears to be so used do not all need emendation; (2) that it makes

itself beneath his feet. My ancestors and I were born in the place where the last sextary is first attained by him who runs in your yearly sport. Let it suffice to hear this of my elders; who they were, and whence they came

A rinfiammarsi sotto la sua pianta.
Gli antichi miei ed io nacqui nel loco, 40
Dove si truova pria l' ultimo sesto
Da quel, che corre il vostro annual giuoco.
Basti dei miei maggiori udirne questo:
Chi ei si furo, ed onde venner quivi,[e]

[e] *Chi si fossero e donde ei venner vivi* (alt. to *ivi*) *Gg.*

Cacciaguida rather old to have gone on the Crusade; (3) that if Dante had meant to be strictly accurate, he would probably have also taken into account the fact that the planet retrogrades during about one-eleventh of its circuit through the signs, and consequently visits the Lion (and every other sign) eleven times in ten circuits, so that both 553 and 580 would give much too early a date. I have therefore preferred to follow P. di Dante (who says: licet reperiatur scriptum corrupte 30 vicibus, ubi debet dicere tribus vicibus); and the older of the Cassinese commentators. Bianchi and Giuliani, it may be added, take the same view. The weight of authority on the other side is somewhat diminished by the fact that several of those who read *trenta*, e.g. Land. and Dan. calmly take 1160 to be the date indicated, making Cacciaguida to have been born nearly twenty years after his death.—**suo Leon.** According to Philalethes, the astrologers of the period divided the signs into four triplets. One of these consisted of Aries, Leo, and Sagittarius, and its "lords" were the Sun, Mars, and Jupiter. In this sense the Lion is regarded as specially belonging to Mars. Mars being also the old patron of Florence (Inf. xiii. 144), this eulogy of the old times of the city is appropriately pronounced in the planet's sphere. It may be further noted that Mars was in Leo at the time when the action of the Commedia is represented as taking place. Villani, viii. 48, mentions that Saturn and Mars were in conjunction in that sign in January of this year, and again in May.

40-42 The house of the Elisei stood just where the Mercato and the Corso join; and here was the boundary of the district known later (for

thither, it is more seemly to be silent than to narrate. All those who at that time were there, between Mars and the Baptist, of strength for arms, were the fifth of those who are alive. But the citizenship, which now is mixed with Campi and with Certaldo and with Figghine, was seen pure in the lowest artisan. O how much had it been better that those people of whom I speak should be neighbours,

Più è il tacer, che il ragionare, onesto.
Tutti color ch' a quel tempo eran ivi
Da portar arme tra Marte e il Batista,
Erano il quinto di quei che son vivi:
Ma la cittadinanza, ch' è or mista
Di Campi, e di Certaldo, e di Figghine, 50
Pura vedeasi nell' ultimo artista.
O quanto fora meglio esser vicine

in Cacciaguida's day there were but four divisions, "quartieri,") as "sestiere di Porta San Piero" (see Villani iv. 11). This appears to have been the last of the "sestieri" to be traversed by the competitors in the annual horse-race which took place on St. John's Day, and as they entered it at this point, they must have come through the Mercato, having started probably at the Porta S. Pancrazio, near where the Strozzi Palace now stands, and presumably finished in the Corso. The word "sextary" is found in Howell's "Venice" (1651).

45 Again a warning against the pride of lineage.

47 I.e. between the Ponte Vecchio, where the statue of Mars used to stand (Vill. iii. 1), and the Baptistery: that is approximately the north and south limits of the city in those days. For all this Canto the notes of Philalethes and Longfellow should be consulted.

50 Campi, Certaldo (the birthplace or home of Boccaccio), and Figghine, are all in the neighbourhood of Florence, the first quite close, the others a little further. Figghine is the modern Figline, on the way to Arezzo (see Vill. iv. 8). It was captured and destroyed by the Florentines in 1252 (Vill. vi. 4, 61). Persons from each of these places seem to have been discreditably conspicuous in Dante's time at Florence.

and to have your frontier at Galluzzo and at Trespiano, than to have them within it, and to endure the stink of the peasant of Aguglione, of him of Signa, who already has his eye sharp for barratry. If the folk that in the world goes most awry had not been to Caesar a stepmother, but as a mother to her son, benign, such an one is become a Florentine, and barters and trades, that would have turned

Quelle genti ch' io dico, ed al Galluzzo
E a Trespiano aver vostro confine,
Che averle dentro, e sostener lo puzzo
Del villan d' Aguglion, di quel da Signa,
Che già per barattare ha l' occhio aguzzo!
Se la gente, ch' al mondo più traligna,
Non fosse stata a Cesare noverca,
Ma come madre a suo figliuol benigna, 60
Tal fatto è Fiorentino, e cambia, e merca,

53, 54 Galluzzo is about two miles from Porta Romana, to the south of Florence; Trespiano about three from P. San Gallo, to the north.

56 Aguglione and Signa, a castle, now destroyed (Scart.), and village near Florence. The **villan** is probably Baldo d' Aguglione; see Purg. xii. 105. There is more doubt as to **quel da Signa**; but most take him to have been one Bonifazio of that place, a lawyer. According to Witte, he belonged to the Black faction, and held several high offices about this time.

58 **gente**: the clergy, as in Purg. vi. 91; **traligna**, cf. xii. 90. The point seems to be that it was the hostile attitude of the Church to the Empire which had brought about the universal state of feud, and so led to the extension of their boundaries, in self-defence, by the various cities, and the consequent introduction, as citizens, of persons not belonging to the old burgher families. There seems to be no satisfactory evidence to show who is specially alluded to here; but the words **cambia e merca** indicate that he belonged to the class of merchants. Cf. note to Purg. xx. 10.

61 **Tal**; so ix. 50, and Purg. xviii. 121. Of course the construction in these lines is inverted; 61–63 in sense precede 58–60.

him back to Simifonti, the place where his grandfather used to go a-quest; Montemurlo would still be the Counts', the Cerchi would be in the parish of Acone, and haply the Buondelmonti in Val di Grieve. Ever was the confusion of persons the origin of the city's ill, as of the body's is food which is added. And a blind bull falls more headlong than a blind lamb, and oftentimes one cuts sharper and better

Che si sarebbe volto a Simifonti,[f]
Là dove andava l' avolo alla cerca.
Sariesi Montemurlo ancor dei Conti:
Sarieno i Cerchi nel pivier d' Acone,[g]
E forse in Valdigrieve i Buondelmonti.
Sempre la confusion delle persone
Principio fu del mal della cittade,
Come del corpo il cibo che s' appone.
E cieco toro più avaccio cade, 70
Che cieco agnello; e molte volte taglia
Più e meglio una che le cinque spade.

[f] *starebbe Gg.*
[g] *i cerchi del piovier de Cone Gg.; Sariansi Ald. W.*
[h] *del cibo vostro chel s' ap. Gg.; del vostro il c. Cass.* 2; *del vostro c.* 145; *soppone* 12345.

[62] Simifonti and the other places here named are all near Florence.
[63] **alla cerca** seems best understood as "begging for his livelihood."
[64] **Conti**: the Guidi. They sold their castle of Montemurlo in 1209 to the Florentines in order to keep it out of the hands of the men of Pistoia (Vill. v. 31).
[66] The destruction in 1135 by the Florentines of Montebuono, the castle of the Buondelmonti, is noted by Villani (iv. 36) as one of the first steps in the expansion of Florence.
[69] **che s' appone**: sc. to food already in course of digestion.
[72] **le cinque**: cf. l. 48. Bianchi notes the use of the definite article as a Florentine idiom.

than five swords. If thou regardest how Luni and Urbisaglia are gone, and how Chiusi and Sinigaglia are going their way after them, to hear how the families are undone will not appear to thee a new thing nor a hard, since the cities have an ending. All your affairs have their death, just as you do; but it is concealed in any which endures long; and lives are short. And as the revolution of the

Se tu riguardi Luni ed Urbisaglia,
  Come son ite, e come se ne vanno
  Diretro ad esse Chiusi e Sinigaglia:
Udir come le schiatte si disfanno,
  Non ti parrà nuova cosa nè forte,
  Poscia che le cittadi termine hanno.
Le vostre cose tutte hanno lor morte,
  Sì come voi; ma celasi in alcuna 80
  Che dura molto, e le vite son corte.
E come il volger del ciel della luna[i]

[i] *del cielo e della Gg.*

73-75 Luni (Luna) and Chiusi (Clusium) were once powerful Tuscan cities; Urbisaglia and Sinigaglia are in the March of Ancona.

76-78 Cf. the well-known letter of Servius Sulpicius to Cicero (Ad Fam. iv. 3): nos homunculi indignamur, si quis nostrum interiit aut occisus est, quorum vita brevior esse debet, quum uno loco tot oppidum cadavera projecta jacent.

82 This allusion to the tides is curious in a dweller by the Mediterranean; but, of course, the phenomenon had been well-known to scientific men ever since the first Greek mariners sailed through the straits of Gibraltar, and it is perceptible enough even at Venice; nor could its connexion in point of time with the apparent motion of the moon have escaped notice. In De Aq. et Ter. § 7, Dante himself refers to it: Aqua videtur maxime sequi motum Lunae, ut patet in accessu et recessu maris. It must not be supposed that he had any idea of the real action of the moon in producing the tides (though he is evidently nearer the mark than Brunetto, who supposes the *phases* of the moon to affect the sea); his view doubtless was that of Aquinas,

moon's heaven covers and uncovers the shores without rest, so does Fortune with Florence. Wherefore it ought not to seem a marvellous thing, what I shall say about the exalted Florentines, of whom the fame is hidden in past time. I saw the Ughi, and I saw the Catellini, Filippi, Greci, Ormanni, and Alberichi, already in their decline,

Cuopre ed iscuopre i liti senza posa,
Così fa di Fiorenza la fortuna;
Perchè non dee parer mirabil cosa
Ciò ch' io dirò degli alti Fiorentini,[k]
Dei quai la fama nel tempo è nascosa.
Io vidi gli Ughi, e vidi i Catellini,
Filippi, Greci, Ormanni, e Alberichi,

[k] *altri F.* 2; *atti Ald.*

who says, S. T. i. Q. 105. A. 6—a passage which incidentally illustrates what has been said in the note to i. 103 sqq.—Cum aliquid contingit in rebus naturalibus praeter naturam inditam, hoc potest . . . contingere . . . per actionem illius agentis a quo dependet actio naturalis . . . ut patet in fluxu et refluxu maris. . . . Est enim ex impressione caelestis corporis, a quo dependet naturalis inclinatio inferiorum corporum. He again alludes to it, Q. 110. A. 3: fluxus et refluxus maris non consequitur formam substantialem aquae, sed virtutem lunae.

[86] **alti**; evidently with reference to l. 27, the question in which he is now going to answer.

[88] The names mentioned in this and the following lines are all found in the list of the old families given by Villani iv. 10–13. A translation of these chapters is given by Longfellow, and the passages more immediately illustrating Dante are referred to in the following notes. It may be observed that of the houses named or alluded to by Dante, the majority belonged to the Guelf party. The following are in Macchiavelli's list as Ghibelines: Barucci, Guidi, Galigari, Giuochi, Caponsacchi, Pigli (in part), Lamberti, Soldanieri, Fifanti, Galli, Infangati, Uberti, and Amidei. Of the rest, the Alberighi, Rovignani, Ughi, dell' Arca, Catellini, Greci, della Pera, Filippi, were extinct in Villani's, that is in Dante's day; the remainder were Guelfs.

[89] The Ormanni "chiamansi oggi Foraboschi," says Villani.

illustrious citizens; and I saw, as great as they were ancient, him of Arca, with him of Sannella, and Soldanieri and Ardinghi and Bostichi. Over the gate which at the present is laden with new felony of such a weight that soon there will be a lightening of the ship, were the Ravignani, whence is descended the Count Guido, and whoever has since shared in the name of high Bellincione. He of Pressa already knew how government should be, and Galigaio had the hilt and the pommel gilt in his house.

Già nel calare, illustri cittadini: 90
E vidi così grandi come antichi,
Con quel della Sannella quel dell' Arca,
E Soldanieri, ed Ardinghi, e Bostichi.
Sopra la porta, che al presente è carca[l]
Di nuova fellonìa di tanto peso,
Che tosto fia jattura della barca,
Erano i Ravignani, ond' è disceso
Il Conte Guido, e qualunque del nome
Dell' alto Bellincione ha poscia preso.[m]
Quel de la Pressa sapeva già come[n] 100
Regger si vuole, ed avea Galigaio
Dorata in casa sua già l' elsa e il pome.[o]

[l] *la poppa Ald.*
[m] *è poscia Gg.*
[n] *della pera Gg.*
[o] *Dorato . . . l' elzo Gg.*

94 sqq. "I Rovignani furono molto grandi, e abitavano in sulla porta San Piero, che furono poi le case de' conti Guidi, e poi de' Cerchi, e di loro per donna nacquero tutti i conti Guidi, come addietro è fatta menzione (see note to xv. 112), della figliuola del buono messere Bellincione Berti." It is probably to the Cerchi, who as the leaders of the White party were largely responsible for the intestine disorders of Dante's time, and who with their chief followers, including Dante himself, were turned out in 1302, that allusion is made in ll. 95, 96.

102 i.e. had the symbols of knightly rank.

Great was already the column of minever, Sacchetti, Giuochi, Fifanti, and Barucci and Galli, and they who blush for the bushel. The stock from which the Calfucci were born was already great, and already were Sizi and Arrigucci drawn to the chairs of state. O, in what state saw I those who have been undone through their pride! and the balls of gold were as flowers to Florence in all her great deeds. Thus did the fathers of those men who all the while that your

Grande era già la colonna del vaio,
  Sacchetti, Giuochi, Fifanti, e Barucci,
  E Galli, e quei ch' arrossan per lo staio.
Lo ceppo di che nacquero i Calfucci,
  Era già grande, e già erano tratti
  Alle curule Sizi ed Arrigucci.
O quali vidi quei che son disfatti
  Per lor superbia! e le palle dell' oro 110
  Fiorian Fiorenza in tutti suoi gran fatti.
Così facìen i padri di coloro,

103 The Pigli bore on their shield a column bordered with ermine.

105 **quei**: the Chiaramontesi. See note to Purg. xii. 105.

106 "I Donati ovvero Calfucci, che tutto furono uno legnaggio; ma i Calfucci vennono meno."—Vill. iv. 11.

108 "Allora (in 1197) era consolo in Firenze Compagno degli Arrigucci."—Vill. v. 22. We learn from other sources that two of the Sizii held the same office about the same time (Philal.), but no contemporary record of any members of these families having held it in Cacciaguida's day appears to exist.

109-111 The old commentators mostly agree in supposing the families indicated in these lines to be the Uberti and Lamberti. Both these seem to have been originally, as their names suggest, of German descent, and to have come to Florence with the Emperor Otto I.; though Villani (iv. 1) has his doubts on this point.

112-114 The Tosinghi and Bisdomini, two allied families, were patrons of the Bishopric of Florence, and while the see was vacant enjoyed its

church is vacant make themselves fat, standing in consistory. The overweening brood, which plays the dragon behind him who flies, and to whoso shows his teeth, ay, or his purse, is placable as a lamb, was already coming up, but of small folk, so that it pleased not Ubertin Donato that his father-in-law should make him their relation.

Che, sempre che la vostra chiesa vaca,
Si fanno grassi, stando a consistoro.
L' oltracotata schiatta, che s' indraca [p]
Dietro a chi fugge ed a chi mostra il dente,
O ver la borsa, com' agnel si placa,
Già venìa su, ma di piccola gente,
Sì che non piacque ad Ubertin Donato,
Che poi il suocero il fe loro parente.[q] 120

[p] *Laltra scontiata Gg.; oltre contanta* 2; *stracutata* 3.
[q] *che il s. il facesse lor Bi.*

revenues. One of the Tosinghi, Messer Lottieri, was Bishop in 1303, and took a prominent part in the tumults of the time.

115-120 Here again there seems to be a general agreement as to the family intended. The Adimari were Dante's near neighbours in Florence, and were notoriously hostile to him. This was especially the case with the branch known as the Cavicciuli. Several anecdotes related by Sacchetti and Boccaccio, show that the family had a reputation for overbearing manners. The savage-tempered braggart, Filippo Argenti, of Inf. viii. 61, belonged to the house; and one Boccaccio de' Cavicciuli, who appears to have been prominent among the swashbucklers of the day (see e.g. Vill. viii. 74, 96), is said by Landino to have been in possession of Dante's goods when the owner was in exile.

118 Vill. iv. 11: Il legnaggio degli Adimari . . . bene che sieno oggi il maggiore legnaggio di quello sesto e di Firenze, non furono però in quelli tempi de' piu antichi.

119, 120 Ubertino Donati is said to have married a daughter of Bellincione Berti, and to have objected to the marriage of another daughter with one of the Adimari. In later times a branch of the Adimari bore the name of Bellincione (whence perhaps the allusion in l. 99); and we find the Adimari and Donati at feud (Vill. vii. 56).

Already had the Caponsacco come down into the Market from Fiesole, and already was Giuda a good burgher, and Infangato. I will tell a thing incredible and true: into the little circuit one used to enter by a gate which had its name from them of the house of Pera. Each one that bears a share of the fair ensign of the great Baron, whose name and whose honour the feast of Thomas confirms.

Già era il Caponsacco nel mercato
  Disceso giù da Fiesole, e già era
  Buon cittadino Giuda ed Infangato.
Io dirò cosa incredibile e vera:
  Nel picciol cerchio s' entrava per porta,[1]
  Che si nomava da quei della Pera.
Ciascun, che della bella insegna porta
  Del gran Barone, il cui nome e il cui pregio
  La festa di Tommaso riconforta,

[1] *In picciol Gg.*

121 "In quello luogo (Mercato Vecchio) abitavano i Caponsacchi, che furono grandi Fiesolani."—Vill. iv. 11.

124-126 "Dietro a San Piero Scheraggio, ove sono oggi le casa de' figliuoli Petri, furono quelli della Pera ovvero Peruzza, e per loro nome la postieria che ivi era si chiamava porta Peruzza."—Vill. iv. 13. Some think that the incredible point was the small size of the city when this was an external gate; but the better view seems to be that it was the absence of jealousy, which allowed a gate to be named after a private family.

127 sqq. Marquis Hugh of Brandenburg ("the only marquisate in Germany") came to Florence with Otto III., and settled there: "Morì nella città di Firenze il dì di Santo Tommaso gli anni di Cristo 1006, e a grande onore fu soppellito alla badia di Firenze. E vivendo il detto marchese Ugo, fece in Firenze molti cavalieri della schiatta de' Giandonati, de' Pulci, de' Nerli, de conti da Gangalandi, e di quelli della Bella, i quali tutti per suo amore ritennero e portarono l' arme sua addogata rossa e bianca con diverse intrassegne."—Vill. iv. 2.

127 **della**: so **del nome**, l. 98.

anew, had from him knighthood and privilege; albeit with the commons is united to-day he who binds it with the fringe. Already were there Gualterotti and Importuni; and yet would Borgo be more tranquil if they had lacked new neighbours. The house from which your sorrow arose,

Da esso ebbe milizia e privilegio; 130
Avvegna che col popol si rauni
Oggi colui che la fascia col fregio.
Già eran Gualterotti ed Importuni:
Ed ancor saria Borgo più quieto,
Se di nuovi vicin fosser digiuni.
La casa di che nacque il vostro fleto,

132 **colui**: Giano della Bella, the great law-maker and champion of the commons against the nobles. He was banished in 1295. See Vill. viii. 8, and Machiavelli, Ist. Fior. Bk. ii.—The arms of della Bella were the same as those of Marquis Hugh, but with a border of gold.

133 sqq. "In borgo Santo Apostolo erano grandi Gualterotti, e Importuni, che oggi sono popolani; i Bondelmonti erano nobili e antichi cittadini in contado, e Montebuoni fu loro castello, e più altri in Valdigreve (l. 66); prima si puosono Oltrarno, e poi tornarono in Borgo."—Vill. iv. 13. The Buondelmonti came into Florence in 1135; and it was from the wrong done in 1215 by one of that family to a lady of the Amidei, whom he had promised to marry, and deserted for one of the Donati, that the feuds which prevailed in Florence for a century afterwards were held by contemporaries to have arisen. On the Easter Day following, says Villani (v. 38), "vegnendo d' Oltrarno il detto messere Bondelmonte vestito nobilmente di nuovo di roba tutta bianca, e in su uno palafreno bianco, giugnendo appiè del ponte Vecchio dal lato di qua, appunto lappiè del pilastro ov' era la 'nsegna di Marti (l. 145), il detto messere Bondelmonte fu atterrato del cavallo per lo Schiatta degli Uberti, e per lo Mosca Lamberti (the chief instigator of the murder; see Inf. xxviii. 106) e Lambertuccio degli Amidei assalito e fedito, e per Oderigo Fifanti gli furono segate le vene e tratto a fine; e ebbevi con loro uno de' conti da Gangalandi." There were already political parties in Florence, as elsewhere, perhaps even

through the righteous wrath which has slain you and put an end to your joyous living, was honoured, it and its consorts. O Buondelmonte, how ill didst thou flee its nuptials through the abetting of another! Many would be blithe that are sad if God had yielded thee to Ema the first time that thou camest to town. But it was meet that Florence in the end of her peace should give a victim to that clipped stone that guards the bridge.

Per lo giusto disdegno che v' ha morti,
E pose fine al vostro viver lieto,[s]
Era onorata ed essa e suoi consorti.[t]
O Buondelmonte, quanto mal fuggisti 140
Le nozze sue per gli altrui conforti!
Molti sarebber lieti che son tristi,
Se Dio t' avesse conceduto ad Ema
La prima volta ch' a città venisti.
Ma conveniasi a quella pietra scema
Che guarda il ponte, che Fiorenza fesse
Vittima nella sua pace postrema.

[s] *posto Ald. W. Bi.* [t] *hon. e se e i suoi Gg.; hon. essa e Cass.* 1234 *Ald.*

more bitter than elsewhere, a fact which Villani attributes to the mixture in one city of the Roman stock with the families from Fiesole; but this family quarrel imported the peculiar savagery which distinguished them and made good government impossible. The Buondelmonti from this time headed the Guelf party, and the Uberti the Ghibelines.

137 "Si presono (sc. gli Amidei) il maladetto isdegno, onde la città di Firenze fu guasta e partita."—Vill. l. c.

143 **Ema**: a small stream which flows into the Greve, and is crossed near Galluzzo by the road from Valdigreve to Florence, along which the Buondelmonti would have come on their original migration.

145 "Bene mostra che 'l nemico dell' umana generazione per le peccata de' Fiorentini avesse podere nell' idolo di Marti, ch' e' Fiorentini pagani anticamente adoravano, che appiè di sua figura

"With these houses, and others with them, I saw Florence in a repose of such sort that she had no occasion whereof to weep. With these houses saw I her commons so glorious and righteous, that the lily had never at the spear's point been put to retreat, nor through divisions grown vermilion."

Con queste genti, e con altre con esse,
  Vid' io Fiorenza in sì fatto riposo,
  Che non avea cagione onde piangesse. 150
Con queste genti vid' io glorioso,
  E giusto il popol suo tanto, che il giglio
  Non era ad asta mai posto a ritroso,
Nè per division fatto vermiglio.

si commise sì fatto micidio, onde tanto male è seguito alla città di Firenze."—Vill. l. c.

152-154 In July, 1251, "cacciati i caporali de' ghibellini di Firenze, il popolo e gli guelfi che dimoraro alla signoria di Firenze, si mutaro l' arme del comune di Firenze; e dove anticamente si portava il campo rosso e 'l giglio bianco, si feciono per contrario il campo bianco e 'l giglio rosso, e' ghibellini si ritennero la prima insegna."—Vill. vi. 43.

CANTO XVII.

ARGUMENT.

Cacciaguida prophesies to Dante concerning that which shall befall him in each ; and exhorts him to be of good courage, and bold in reproof of wickedness in high places.

As in coming to Clymene, to assure himself concerning that which he had heard against himself, was he who still makes fathers niggardly to their sons, such was I, and such was perceived both by Beatrice and by the holy Lamp which before had for my sake changed its place. Wherefore my

> QUAL venne a Climenè per accertarsi
> Di ciò ch' aveva incontro a sè udito,
> Quel ch' ancor fa li padri ai figli scarsi,
> Tale era io, e tale era sentito
> E da Beatrice, e dalla santa lampa,
> Che pria per me avea mutato sito.

[1] See Ov. Met. i. fin. where Phaethon goes to his mother Clymene, to learn if he is really the son of Phoebus, Epaphus having insinuated that he is not. The result is that he induces his father to let him drive his chariot, with the consequences that are known. The fable, as I have noted to Purg. iv. 72, seems to be one of those that had an attraction for Dante. Here he probably compares himself with Phaethon in respect of his uncertainty as to what he should hear about his own fate ; though some, e.g. Comm. Cass. understand it as merely "cum filiali audacia et fiducia."

Lady said to me: "Send forth the flame of thy desire so that it may issue well sealed with the inward stamp; not in order that our knowledge may increase through thy speaking, but that thou mayest use thyself to tell thy thirst, so that one may mingle for thee."

"O dear plant of me (who art so set on high that, as earthly minds see that there is not room in a triangle for two obtuse angles, so thou seest contingent things, before they exist in themselves, gazing on the point to which all

Per chè mia Donna: Manda fuor la vampa
Del tuo disio, mi disse, sì ch' ell' esca
Segnata bene dell' interna stampa:[a]
Non perchè nostra conoscenza cresca[b] 10
Per tuo parlare, ma perchè t' ausi
A dir la sete, sì che l' uom ti mesca.
O cara pianta mia, che sì t' insusi[c]
Che, come veggion le terrene menti
Non capere in triangol due ottusi,
Così vedi le cose contingenti
Anzi che sieno in sè, mirando il punto,
A cui tutti li tempi son presenti.

[a] *segn. lieve Cass.* 12; *da la in'erna* 2; *della eterna* 145.
[b] *conscientia Gg.* [c] *piota Cass.* 2 *W.*; *pieta* 1345; om. *mia Gg.*

10 sqq. Cf. xv. 55–69.

13 There seems to be some authority for the reading *piota*; but the objection is that *piota* is only found = **pianta** in the sense of "the sole of the foot," as Inf. xix. 120. It should however be said that P. di Dante explains "o piota mea, idest planta pedis." But it is hard to see in what sense Cacciaguida can have been "planta pedis" to Dante.

14-16 Seest contingent things as plainly as men apprehend the truths of geometry; than which there can be no higher degree of certainty. "La geometria," he says in Conv. ii. 14, "è sanza macula d' errore, e certissima per sè."

times are present), whiles that I was joined with Virgil up over the mountain which cures the souls, and when descending in the dead world, there were said to me concerning my future life heavy words, albeit I feel myself right four-square to all the blows of chance. Wherefore my will would be satisfied to learn what sort of fortune is drawing near me; for an arrow foreseen comes more slowly." So said I to that selfsame light which before had spoken to me, and as Beatrice would was my wish confessed. Nor through riddles, in which the foolish folk used once to be

Mentre ch' io era a Virgilio congiunto
  Su per lo monte che l' anime cura, 20
  E discendendo nel mondo defunto,
Dette mi fur di mia vita futura
  Parole gravi; avvegna ch' io mi senta
  Ben tetragono ai colpi di ventura.
Per che la voglia mia saria contenta
  D' intender qual fortuna mi s' appressa;
  Chè saetta previsa vien più lenta.
Così diss' io a quella luce stessa
  Che pria m' avea parlato, e come volle
  Beatrice, fu la mia voglia confessa. 30
Nè per ambage, in che la gente folle[d]

[d] *Non per Gg.*

22 See especially Inf. x. 79, xv. 61; Purg. viii. 133, xi. 140.

24 The idea is of course borrowed from Eth. Nic. i. 10: *τὰς τύχας οἴσει κάλλιστα καὶ πάντῃ πάντως ἐμμελῶς ὅ γ' ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὸς καὶ τετράγωνος ἀνεὺ ψόγου.* Comm. Cass., it may be noted, considers the metaphor to be from the tetrahedron, which stands firmly however it is thrown.

27 Daniello quotes a line which he ascribes to Ovid, but which is not to be found in Ovid's works: "Nam praevisa minus laedere tela solent." It is probably medieval.

31-33 Dante follows the old legend, that the oracles ceased at the

limed before was slain the Lamb of God that takes away sins, but through clear words and with precise speech, answered that fatherly love, enclosed and made manifest by his own smile:

"Contingency, which extends not beyond the quire of your matter, is all depicted in the eternal view. It

Già s' invescava pria che fosse anciso
L' Agnel di Dio che le peccata tolle:
Ma per chiare parole, e con preciso
Latin rispose quell' amor paterno,
Chiuso e parvente del suo proprio riso:
La contingenza, che fuor del quaderno
Della vostra materia non si stende,
Tutta è dipinta nel cospetto eterno.

moment of Christ's crucifixion. Milton, in referring it to the Nativity, slightly modifies the tradition.

35 **Latin**: possibly only as in xii. 144, but it may be meant to imply that Cacciaguida used throughout the same language as in his opening words.

37 sqq. Contingency (here = *τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον*) belongs to matter only ("est unumquodque contingens ex parte materiae, quia contingens est quod potest esse et non esse."—S. T. i. Q. 86. A. 3), and involves the idea of succession in time; and thus has no place in the eternal world. (Ar. Phys. iii. 4: *ἐνδέχεσθαι γὰρ ἢ εἶναι οὐδὲν διαφέρει τοῖς ἀιδίοις.* Metaph. *θ* 10 (1051 b): *φάνερον δὲ καὶ ὅτι περὶ τῶν ἀκινήτων οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπάτη κατὰ τὸ ποτέ.* See also An. Pr. i. 13.) Thus God sees all things that will happen, not as we do, in order of time, but in eternity (S. T. i. Q. 14. A. 13); and the blessed see them reflected from Him. Then comes in parenthetically the question familiar to theologians, how the foreknowledge of God is consistent with freewill; or as Boethius (v. Pr. 3) puts it, "nimium adversari ac repugnare videtur, praenoscere universa Deum, et esse ullum libertatis arbitrium." The beautiful image by which Dante endeavours to suggest a solution of the problem appears to be entirely his own; but the germ of the notion involved in it may be found in Ar. Metaph. viii. 10 (shortly before the passage quoted above): *οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὸ ἡμᾶς οἴεσθαι ἀληθῶς σὲ λεῦκον*

takes not however necessity from thence, otherwise than from the sight in which it is mirrored does a vessel which is going downwards with a current. From thence, as comes to the ear a sweet harmony from an organ, comes to my view the time which is being prepared for thee. As Hippolytus departed from Athens through his unkind and treacherous stepmother, such from Florence it behoves that thou depart. This is desired, and this already is being

Necessità però quindi non prende 40
  Se non come dal viso, in che si specchia
  Nave che per corrente giù discende.[e]
Da indi, sì come viene ad orecchia
  Dolce armonia da organo, mi viene
  A vista il tempo, che ti s' apparecchia.
Qual si partì Ipolito d' Atene
  Per la spietata e perfida noverca,
  Tal di Fiorenza partir ti conviene.
Questo si vuole, e questo già si cerca,

[e] *torrente Gg. Cass. Ald.*

εἶναι εἶ σὺ λεῦκος, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ σὲ εἶναι λεῦκον ἡμεῖς οἱ φάντες τοῦτο ἀληθεύομεν.—**quaderno**. Properly a sheet of paper folded four times (see for example the end of any small Aldine edition); hence a little book, as in Purg. xii. 105. The metaphor, a bold one, is much like those in ii. 78 and xii. 122. The word appears to be the origin of our *quire*, Fr. *cahier*.

46-48 It seems unnecessary to suppose that Dante means to press the parallel between himself and Hippolytus any further than the point of both having been driven from their homes by calumnious accusations.

49-51 Just before this time Vieri de' Cerchi went to Rome, summoned by Boniface VIII., who wished to consult him as to the establishment of peace between the two contending factions, the Blacks and the Whites, in Florence; he being the head of the latter party. Vieri—unwisely, as Villani thinks—professed that he had no quarrel with any one, and, so to speak, snubbed the Pope, who "rimase molto

sought, and soon will come to fulfilment at the hands of him who is meditating this in the place where Christ all day long is made merchandise. The blame shall follow the fallen party, in outcry, as it is wont; but the vengeance shall be a testimony to the True who dispenses it. Thou shalt leave

E tosto verrà fatto, a chi ciò pensa 50
Là dove Cristo tutto dì si merca.
La colpa seguirà la parte offensa
In grido, come suol; ma la vendetta
Fia testimonio al ver che la dispensa.
Tu lascerai ogni cosa diletta

sdegnato contro a lui e contro a sua parte" (Vill. viii. 39). He probably had good reasons for distrusting the White party. At all events, a few months later he sent Cardinal Matteo d'Acquasparta to Florence with no better success; for the Whites "per tema d' essere ingannato dal papa e dal legato . . . non vollono ubbidire;" so the Cardinal laid the city under an interdict and departed. The Donati and others of the Black party then began to intrigue with the Pope with a view to introducing Charles of Valois into Florence. This being discovered, they were, by order of the Signoria, among whom Dante then was, and, as Machiavelli says, by his advice, fined and banished; and at once betook themselves to Rome. On All Saints' Day, 1301, Charles entered Florence, and the Blacks returned immediately. After some fighting, and another futile attempt on the part of Cardinal d'Acquasparta to readjust matters, the White party, including Dante, were banished, in April, 1302. From this time the bulk of the party made common cause with the Ghibelines.

52, 53 E.g. Villani viii. 49: E per questo modo fu abbattuta e cacciata di Firenze l' ingrata e superba parte de' bianchi. Cf. Conv. i. 3: La piaga della fortuna, che suole ingiustamente al piagato molte volte essere imputato. And Boethius i. Pr. 4: Hoc tantum dixerim; ultimam esse adversae fortunae sarcinam, quod dum miseris aliquod crimen affingitur, quae perferunt meruisse creduntur.

54 It seems better to understand **il ver** of God, rather than, as most do, take it to mean "the truth"; for it is hard to see how the truth can be said to dispense or allot vengeance.

every thing beloved most dearly; and this is that shaft which the bow of exile first shoots forth. Thou shalt prove how tastes of salt another's bread, and how it is a hard path to go down and up over another's stairs. And that which shall most burthen thy shoulders shall be the evil and foolish company with whom thou shalt fall into this vale; for all ungrateful, all mad and impious they shall take thy contrary part; but a little later they and not thou shall have their foreheads red. Of their beastliness their procedure shall make the proof: so that to thee it shall be honourable to have made thee a party for thyself. Thy first refuge and

Più caramente; e questo è quello strale,[f]
Che l' arco dell' esilio pria saetta.
Tu proverai sì come sa di sale
Lo pane altrui, e com' è duro calle
Lo scendere e il salir per l' altrui scale. 60
E quel che più ti graverà le spalle,
Sarà la compagnia malvagia e scempia,
Con la qual tu cadrai in questa valle:
Chè tutta ingrata, tutta matta ed empia
Si farà contra te; ma poco appresso
Ella, non tu, n' avrà rossa la tempia.
Di sua bestialitate il suo processo
Farà la pruova, sì ch' a te fia bello
Averti fatta parte per te stesso.

[f] *pienamente* 1245.

61 sqq. It is impossible now to discover the full meaning of this allusion. All that is certain is that Dante appears to have kept very much aloof from his fellow-exiles in their subsequent unsuccessful attempts to return; and that among them were many persons, e.g. Lapo Salterello (xv. 128), with whom he could have had little sympathy. From many passages also it is clear that the union with the Ghibelines was distasteful to him.

first sojourn shall be the courtesy of the great Lombard, who bears the holy bird over the ladder. For he shall have toward thee so kindly observance that of the action and the request, between you two, that one shall be first which among others is last. In his company shalt thou see him who at his birth was so stamped by this mighty

Lo primo tuo rifugio e il primo ostello, 70
Sarà la cortesia del gran Lombardo,
Che in su la Scala porta il santo uccello:[g]
Che in te avrà sì benigno riguardo,
Che del fare e del chieder tra voi due,
Fia primo quel che tra gli altri è più tardo.[h]
Con lui vedrai colui che impresso fue,[i]
Nascendo, sì da questa stella forte,

[g] *el grande uccello Gg.* [h] *prima* 2 *Ald. W.*
[i] *impregio Gg.; chen preso* 3.

[71] There is some little difficulty as to this line, arising chiefly from the doubt whether Bartolommeo della Scala, whom all the old commentators (including P. di Dante, who ought to have known) take to be the person referred to, ever was entitled to bear the eagle of the Empire above the ladder which was the badge of the family. His brother and successor, Alboin, was the first to be created Imperial Vicar, by Henry VII., in 1311; but he is excluded by the fact that Dante's opinion of him, as appears from Conv. iv. 16, was very low. There seems no reason why Bartolommeo should not have taken the eagle as a sign of devotion to the Imperial cause; and Dante's first visit to Verona was almost certainly during his rule. He died March, 130⅘.

[76] **colui**: Can Francesco della Scala, called Can Grande. He was born 1291. "Fu Principe bello di faccia, grande di persona, prudente, bellicoso, e di principal valore tra tutti i Principi d' Italia di suo tempo."—Tinto, Nobiltà di Verona. He succeeded on the death of Alboin, 1311, and died in 1328. His position both in regard to the general history of the time, and in connection with Dante, is too well known to need further notice. It will be sufficient to recall the facts that he is usually considered to be the Veltro of Inf. i. 101; and that the Paradise was dedicated to him.

star, that his works shall be notable. Of him have the people as yet not taken heed, through his young age, for only nine years have these wheels been turned round about him. But ere that the Gascon cheats high Henry shall sparks appear of his prowess, in caring not for silver nor for toils. His magnificences shall yet be so known that his foes shall not be able thereof to hold their tongues silent. Wait upon him and upon his benefits: through him shall much people be transmuted, rich and poor ex-

Che notabili fien l' opere sue.[k]
Non se ne sono ancor le genti accorte
Per la novella età, che pur nove anni 80
Son queste ruote intorno di lui torte.
Ma pria che il Guasco l' alto Arrigo inganni,
Parran faville della sua virtute,
In non curar d' argento nè d' affanni.
Le sue magnificenze conosciute
Saranno ancora sì, che i suoi nimici
Non ne potran tener le lingue mute.
A lui t' aspetta e ed ai suoi benefici:
Per lui fia trasmutata molta gente,

[k] *mirabili Gg.*

82 The Emperor Henry VII. was ostensibly supported by Pope Clement V. (Bertrand de Goth); but nevertheless he encountered a strong opposition from King Robert of Naples (who even prevented his coronation in St. Peter's) and the Guelf party generally. He was crowned in St. John Lateran, in June, 1312, and died at Bonconvento, near Siena, not without suspicion of poison, in August of the following year. Dante means to imply that the Pope, while professing to be on his side, really favoured the opposition. Henry received much help from Can Grande while passing through Lombardy, and suppressing the Guelfs of that part on his way to Rome (see Villani ix. 14, 32).

changing their condition. And thou shalt bear away a writing in thy mind concerning him, but thou shalt not tell it,"—and he said things incredible to those who shall be present at them. Then he added: "My son, these are the interpretations of what was said to thee; lo, here the treacheries which are hidden behind a few revolving years. I will not, however, that thou be envious against thy neighbours, because thy life is set in the future far beyond the punishment of their perfidies."

After that by its silence the holy soul showed itself to be released from putting the woof into that web which I had presented to it set in frame, I began, as he that craves in his doubt counsel from a person who sees and wills

Cambiando condizion ricchi e mendici. 90
E porteraine scritto nella mente
Di lui, e nol dirai: e disse cose[1]
Incredibili a quei che fien presente.[m]
Poi giunse: Figlio, queste son le chiose
Di quel che ti fu detto; ecco l' insidie,
Che dietro a pochi giri son nascose.
Non vo' però, ch' ai tuoi vicini invidie,
Poscia che s' infutura la tua vita,
Via più là, che il punir di lor perfidie.
Poichè tacendo si mostrò spedita 100
L' anima santa di metter la trama
In quella tela, ch' io le porsi ordita,
Io cominciai, come colui che brama,
Dubitando, consiglio da persona

ma nol W. Bi. [m] *che son pr.* 1245; *fia Ald.*(1) *Bi.*; *fian Ald.*(2).

98, 99 That is, thou wilt long outlive the punishment.
102 Cf. iii. 95, and Purg. xxxiii. 140.

uprightly, and loves: "I see well, father mine, how time is spurring towards me, to give me a blow of such sort as is heaviest on whoso most yields himself; wherefore it is good that I arm myself with foresight so that if a place that is most dear is taken from me, I lose not the others through my songs. Down through the world that is bitter without end, and over the mountain from whose fair summit the eyes of my Lady lifted me; and afterward through the heaven from light to light have I learnt that which if I repeat it will be to many a savour of strong harshness; and if I am a timid friend to the truth, I fear to lose life among

Che vede, e vuol dirittamente, ed ama:
Ben veggio, padre mio, sì come sprona
Lo tempo verso me per colpo darmi
Tal ch' è più grave a chi più s' abbandona:[n]
Per che di provedenza è buon ch' io m' armi,
Sì che se luogo m' è tolto più caro, 110
Io non perdessi gli altri per miei carmi.
Giù per lo mondo senza fine amaro,
E per lo monte, del cui bel cacume
Gli occhi della mia Donna mi levaro,
E poscia per lo ciel di lume in lume,
Ho io appreso quel, che s' io ridico,
A molti fia savor di forte agrume:
E s' io al vero son timido amico,

[n] *grave che Gg.; grave et che Cass.* 1234.

105 Understanding, good will, love, are the necessary preliminaries to good action.

106 sqq. Dante is in doubt whether to incur the enmity of living men by revealing all that he has heard, or to lose his fame with posterity by concealing it. Cacciaguida, in language which recalls some parts of the prophecies of Ezekiel and Daniel, bids him tell everything.

those who will call this time ancient." The light wherein was smiling my treasure, whom I found there, first became sparkling like a mirror of gold in the sun's ray; then he answered: "A conscience dark either from its own or from another's shame, alone will feel thy word rough. But nevertheless, all falsehood laid aside, make all thy vision manifest, and just let the scratching be where the itch is: for if thy voice shall be irksome in the first tasting, it shall leave behind when it shall be digested, nourishment to life. This thy cry shall do as the wind, which strikes most the

Temo di perder viver tra coloro,[o]
Che questo tempo chiameranno antico. 120
La luce in che rideva il mio tesoro,
Ch' io trovai lì, si fe prima corrusca,[p]
Quale a raggio di Sole specchio d' oro:
Indi rispose: Coscienza fusca,
O della propria, o dell' altrui vergogna,
Pur sentirà la tua parola brusca.
Ma nondimen, rimossa ogni menzogna,
Tutta tua vision fa manifesta,
E lascia pur grattar dov' è la rogna:
Chè se la voce tua sarà molesta 130
Nel primo gusto, vital nutrimento
Lascerà poi quando sarà digesta.
Questo tuo grido farà come il vento,

[o] *vita tra Ald. W. Bi.* [p] *si fece pria Gg.*

129 This is perhaps the most remarkable instance of a characteristic feature of the Paradise; namely, the introduction of vulgar and even coarse images in the midst of the most elevated passages. Cf. xii. 114; xiii. 139; and xxxii. 140 (where St. Bernard, in the very highest Heaven, talks of cutting the coat according to the cloth). It is as if the writer's mind, overwrought by the fervour of his own imagination, sought a certain relief in these trivialities.

loftiest tops; and this makes no small proof of honour. Wherefore there have been shown to thee in these spheres, on the mount, and in the dolorous vale only the souls which are known of fame; for the mind of him who hears, rests not nor confirms belief by reason of an example which has its root unknown and hidden, nor for any other proof that is not apparent."

Che le più alte cime più percuote:
E ciò non fa d' onor poco argomento.[q]
Però ti son mostrate in queste ruote,
Nel monte e nella valle dolorosa
Pur l' anime che son di fama note:[r]
Chè l' animo di quel ch' ode, non posa,
Nè ferma fede per esempio, ch' haia 140
La sua radice incognita e nascosa,
Nè per altro argomento che non paia.

[q] *non fia Ald. W.* [r] *per fama W.*

134 Cf. Hor. Od. ii. 10:

Saepius ventis agitatur ingens
Pinus, et celsae graviore casu
Decidunt turres, feriuntque summos
Fulgura montes.

CANTO XVIII.

ARGUMENT.

Cacciaguida having pointed out the souls of other warriors, returns to his place. Dante and Beatrice ascend to the sixth Heaven, of Jupiter, where the souls of just men form certain words, and lastly the figure of the Imperial Eagle.

ALREADY was that blessed mirror joying by himself in his own word, and I was tasting mine,[1] tempering the sweet with the bitter; and that Lady who was bringing me to

GIÀ si godeva solo del suo verbo
Quello specchio beato, ed io gustava
Lo mio, temprando il dolce con l' acerbo;[a]
E quella Donna, ch' a Dio mi menava,

[a] *col d. l' ac.* 124 *W.*

[1] Witte understands "was joying *only*"; sc. "while I was feeling both joy and pain": but this seems rather far-fetched. He is, however, probably right in understanding **verbo** to mean merely the words just spoken. Comm. Gg. takes the same view. It seems unnecessary to hold, with some of the moderns, that the scholastic sense of "mental concept" (S. T. i. Q. 28. A. 4 and Q. 34. A. 1), and hence "thought," is intended. Scartazzini thinks that this rendering involves a difficulty in **Lo mio** (l. 3); but surely it is clear enough that that, as Daniello says, means "such part of his speech as referred to me." It may be noticed that *verbo* does not often occur in Dante; probably only once elsewhere, Inf. xxv. 16, in its literal sense.

[2] **Specchio** seems the only reading which has any authority. The variant *spirto* is evidently a gloss, first imported into the text in the

God, said: "Change thy thoughts, think that I am near to Him who undoes the burthen of every wrong."

I turned round at the loving sound of my comfort; and what love I then saw in her holy eyes, I here pass over; not because I mistrust my speech only, but because the mind cannot return upon itself so far, if another guide it not. So much only can I tell again of that moment, that as I gazed at her, my affection was free from all other desire.

While the eternal pleasure, which beamed directly upon Beatrice, was satisfying me with its second aspect

Disse: Muta pensier, pensa ch' io sono
Presso a colui ch' ogni torto disgrava.
Io mi rivolsi all' amoroso suono
Del mio conforto; e quale io allor vidi
Negli occhi santi amor, qui l' abbandono:
Non perch' io pur del mio parlar diffidi, 10
Ma per la mente che non può reddire
Sopra sè tanto, s' altri non la guidi.
Tanto poss' io di quel punto ridire,
Che, rimirando lei, lo mio affetto
Libero fu da ogni altro disire.
Fin che il piacere eterno, che diretto
Raggiava in Beatrice, dal bel viso
Mi contentava col secondo aspetto,

Nidobeatine, then into the Aldine, which subsequent edd. have mostly followed. There is probably a reference to l. 123 of the last Canto; but the notion of the saints and angels as mirrors of the Divine thought is common enough: e.g. ix. 61, and ll. 16–18 below.

[11] Cf. i. 7 sqq. For the "tmesis" of *perche* cf. Purg. xxv. 16.

[16] **Fin che**: as Inf. xix. 111, Purg. xii. 69. See Diez iii., p. 321.

[18] **secondo aspetto**: i.e. the sight of it as reflected in her.

from the fair face, overcoming me with the light of a smile, she said to me: "Turn thee and listen, for not only in my eyes is Paradise." As here is seen sometimes the emotion in the countenance, if it is so great that all the mind is taken up by it, so in the flaming of the holy blaze to which I turned, I recognised the desire in him to

Vincendo me col lume d' un sorriso,
  Ella mi disse: Volgiti ed ascolta, 20
  Chè non pur nei miei occhi è Paradiso.
Come si vede qui alcuna volta
  L' affetto nella vista, s' ello è tanto,
  Che da lui sia tutta l' anima tolta;
Così nel fiammeggiar del fulgor santo
  A cui mi volsi, conobbi la voglia

[21] Comm. Gg. no doubt gives correctly the symbolical meaning: quia felicitas non solum consistit in contemplatione sacrae scripturae, sed saepe etiam consistit in exemplo virorum illustrium, qui licet secularitер vixerunt in mundo tamen fecerunt opera praeclara accendentia animam viri Xtiani ad amorem fidei, etc. Similarly Post. Caet. quoted by Bianchi and others: Quia non solum in contemplatione Theologiae est felicitas et beatitudo, sed etiam in exemplis valentium virorum. Perhaps it would be even nearer the mark to say, "perfection cannot be attained by contemplation alone without action." There is, however, an obvious allusion to a passage in the Canzone which precedes Conv. iii.: Cose appariscon nello suo aspetto, Che mostran de' piacer di Paradiso; Dico negli occhi e nel suo dolce riso, Che le vi reca Amor com' a suo loco; and to the commentary in ch. 8: dico che nel suo aspetto appariscono cose le quali dimostrano de' piaceri e intra gli altri di que' di Paradiso. Lo più nobile, e quello ch' è scritto e fine di tutti gli altri, si è contentarsi . . . e questo piacere è veramente . . . nell' aspetto di costei, chè guardando costei la gente si contenta . . . ma per altro modo che per lo contentare che in Paradiso è perpetuo, non può ad alcuno essere questo. If the reading of the last sentence is correct, as to which there are doubts, the present passage would seem to be another instance of a partial recantation of opinions expressed in the Convito. Cf. ii. 60.

speak with me yet somewhat. And he began: "In this fifth stage of the tree which has life from its top, and bears fruit ever, and never sheds leaves, there are blessed spirits who on earth, before they came to heaven, were of great renown, so that every muse would be rich thereof. Therefore look upon the arms of the Cross; he whom I now shall name will there perform the action which its swift fire does in a cloud." I saw over the Cross a light drawn at the naming of Joshua, when he did so; nor was the speech perceived by me before the act. And at the name of the high Maccabee I saw another move, rotating; and

In lui di ragionarmi ancora alquanto.
E cominciò: In questa quinta soglia
Dell' albero che vive della cima,
E frutta sempre e mai non perde foglia, 30
Spiriti son beati, che giù prima
Che venissero al Ciel, fur di gran voce,
Sì ch' ogni Musa ne sarebbe opìma.
Però mira nei corni della Croce:
Quel ch' io or nomerò lì farà l' atto,[b]
Che fa in nube il suo fuoco veloce.
Io vidi per la Croce un lume tratto,
Dal nomar Josuè, com' ei sì feo,
Nè mi fu noto il dir prima che il fatto.[c]
Ed al nome dell' alto Maccabeo 40
Vidi muoversi un altro roteando:

[b] *ch' io nom. Gg. Cass.* 4 *W.; io ti n.* 125. [c] *pria il dir che Gg.*

28 sqq. The "tree" is of course Heaven, in which Mars is the fifth sphere.

30 **frutta**: cf. Purg. xxxii. 74. There is probably an allusion to Rev. xxii. 2.

gladness was whip to the top. So for Charles the Great and for Roland my intent look followed two of them, as an eye follows its falcon in his flight. Afterward William, and Rinoard, and the duke Godfrey drew my sight over that Cross, and Robert Guiscard. Then moved and mingled among the other lights the soul which had talked to me showed me what a craftsman he was among the singers of the heaven.

I turned round on my right side to see in Beatrice

E letizia era ferza del palèo.
Così per Carlo Magno e per Orlando
Due ne seguì lo mio attento sguardo,
Com' occhio segue suo falcon volando.
Poscia trasse Guiglielmo, e Rinoardo,
E il duca Gottifredi la mia vista
Per quella Croce, e Roberto Guiscardo.
Indi tra l' altre luci mota e mista
Mostrommi l' alma, che m' avea parlato, 50
Qual' era tra i cantor del Cielo artista.
Io mi rivolsi dal mio destro lato,
Per vedere in Beatrice il mio dovere,

46 **Guiglielmo**: All the commentators seem agreed that this is an early Count of Orange. Philalethes refers to an early epic poem, recounting his prowess against the Saracens in Africa and the South of France; and considers that he is confused with William called Courtnez, who was appointed by Charlemagne to be tutor to his son Lewis (afterwards "the Pious") in the government of Aquitaine. *Renouard* is another personage in the same poem, who though a Saracen by birth was afterwards William's friend and ally. One is rather tempted to read "a Guiglielmo ed a Ricciardo," and to suppose that some of the many Norman Williams and Richards are alluded to. It may be noticed that Landino in his note reads *Riccardo.*

47 **Gottifredi**: Godfrey of Bouillon. The other heroes mentioned are well known. It may be observed that all these are named as having been champions of the true faith against the infidel.

my duty signified either by words or by gesture, and I saw her eyes so clear, so joyous, that her semblance surpassed her other, and her last wont. And as through feeling more delight in working well a man from day to day is aware that his excellence is advancing, so was I aware that my circling round together with the heaven was having its arc increased, when I saw that Wonder more adorned. And as is the transformation in a little passage of time, in a pale lady when her countenance is discharging its freight of shamefastness, such was there in my eyes, when I had turned, through the whiteness of the temperate sixth

O per parlare, o per atto segnato;[d]
E vidi le sue luci tanto mere,
Tanto gioconde, che la sua sembianza
Vinceva gli altri e l' ultimo solere.
E come per sentir più dilettanza,
Bene operando l' uom, di giorno in giorno
S' accorge che la sua virtute avanza; 60
Sì m' accors' io che il mio girare intorno
Col cielo insieme, avea cresciuto l' arco,
Veggendo quel miracol più adorno.
E quale è il trasmutare in picciol varco
Di tempo in bianca donna, quando il volto
Suo si discarchi di vergogna il carco;
Tal fu negli occhi miei, quando fu volto
Per lo candor della temprata stella

[d] *parole Ald.*

59, 60 Ar. Eth. ii. 1: Τὰς δ' ἀρετὰς λαμβάνομεν ἐνεργήσαντες πρότεοον. Ib. 6: ἡ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀρετὴ εἴη ἂν ἕξις ἀφ' ἧς ἀγαθὸς ἄνθρωπος γίγνεται καὶ ἀφ' ἧς εὖ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἔργον ἀποδώσει.

62 They ascend into the sphere of Jupiter.

63 **miracolo**: cf. V. N. xxi.: "Sì è nuovo miracolo gentile."

star, which had received me within itself. I beheld in that torch of Jove the sparkling of the love which was there signify to my eyes our speech. And as the birds risen from a river-bank, as though rejoicing together at their feeding, make of themselves a troop, now round, now otherwise, so within the lights holy beings were singing as they flitted, and were making now a D, now an I, now an L, in their own shapes. At first as they sang they kept moving to their note; afterwards, as they became one of these characters, they halted a little and were silent.

O goddess of the fountain, who makest men's wits

Sesta, che dentro a sè m' avea ricolto.
Io vidi in quella giovial facella 70
Lo sfavillar dell' amor che lì era,
Segnare agli occhi miei nostra favella.
E come augelli surti di riviera,
Quasi congratulando a lor pasture,
Fanno di sè or tonda, or altra schiera,[e]
Sì dentro ai lumi sante creature
Volitando cantavano, e faciensi
Or D, or I, or L in sue figure.
Prima cantando a sua nota moviensi:
Poi, diventando l' un di questi segni, 80
Un poco s' arrestavano e taciensi.
O diva Pegasèa, che gl' ingegni

[e] *or t. or lunga Gg. W. Bi.*

72 By grouping themselves so as to form words.

75 **altra** is the reading which has the vast preponderance of MS. authority and of the early edd.; and *lunga* is far more likely to have been a gloss on it than *vice versâ*.

82 **diva Pegasèa**: the Muse in general, probably. Dante invokes more than one by name, e.g. Calliope in Purg. i. 9, and Urania, ib. xxix. 41; but there is no reason for trying to identify any one in

glorious, and renderest them long-lived, as they with thy aid do cities and realms, illustrate me with thyself so that I may carve out the forms of them as I have conceived them: let thy power appear in these short verses. They showed themselves then in five times seven vowels and consonants; and I noted the parts as they appeared spoken to me. *Diligite justitiam* were first verb and noun of the whole picture; *Qui judicatis terram* were last. Then they remained arranged in the M of the fifth word, so that

Fai gloriosi, e rendigli longevi,
Ed essi teco le cittadi e i regni,
Illustrami di te, sì ch' io rilevi
Le lor figure, com' io l' ho concette:
Paia tua possa in questi versi brevi.
Mostràrsi dunque in cinque volte sette
Vocali e consonanti; ed io notai[f]
Le parti sì come mi parver dette. 90
Diligite justitiam, primai
Fur verbo e nome di tutto il dipinto:
Qui judicatis terram, fur sezzai.
Poscia nell' M del vocabol quinto

[f] *ond' io Gg.*

particular here. He was probably thinking of Persius, Prol. l. 14. The fountain is of course Hippocrene, made by the hoof of Pegasus.

91-93 *Diligite justitiam qui judicatis terram* are the opening words of the Book of Wisdom. They are appropriate to this sphere, which contains the spirits of kings and chieftains renowned for justice; and serve to introduce what may be called an apotheosis of the personified empire: cf. de Mon. i. 13. It is clear that the letters of the sentence are to be conceived as being formed one by one, by the whole number of spirits; not all at once. When the final M is reached, they pause for a short time, and then the letter, by an easy metamorphosis, passes first into the lily of Florence with an eagle's head and neck, and lastly into the full shape of the imperial eagle.

Jupiter appeared silver studded there with gold. And I saw other lights descend where the head of the M was, and rest there, singing I think the Good which moves them to itself. Afterwards, as in the striking of burnt logs innumerable sparks rise up, whence the simple are wont to take auguries, there appeared to arise again from thence more than a thousand lights, and mount up one much and another little, according as the Sun which kindles them, allotted them; and, each resting in its place, I saw that studded fire represent the head and neck of an eagle. He

Rimaser ordinate, sì che Giove
Pareva argento lì d' oro distinto.
E vidi scendere altre luci, dove
Era il colmo dell' M, e lì quetarsi
Cantando, credo, il ben ch' a sè le muove.
Poi come nel percuoter dei ciocchi arsi 100
Surgono innumerabili faville,
Onde gli stolti sogliono agurarsi,
Risurger parver quindi più di mille
Luci, e salir qual assai e qual poco,
Sì come il Sol, che l' accende, sortille :[g]
E quietata ciascuna in suo loco,
La testa e il collo d' un' aquila vidi

[g] *accende e sort. Gg. Cass.* 1234 *W.*

[96] Conv. ii. 14 : intra tutte le stelle bianca si mostra [sc. la stella di Giove], quasi argentata. (Whence he goes on to show that Jupiter corresponds to the science of geometry, which can have no blemish of error.)

[102] The commentators tell us that the country-folk were wont to strike two lighted sticks together, and divine from the resulting shower of sparks the number of gold pieces, years of life, and the like, which might be in store for them.

[107, 108] **vidi rappresentare a . . . :** Construction as Purg. viii. 106, etc., where see note. It is curious how even Italian commentators

who depicts there has none to guide Him, but Himself is guide, and from Him is had in mind that virtue which is the formative power for the nests. The other blessedness, which appeared at first content to be enlilied on the M, with a little movement followed out the imprint. O sweet star, what manner and what number of what gems showed me that our justice is an effect of the heaven wherein thou art set! Wherefore I pray the Mind wherein thy motion

Rappresentare a quel distinto foco.
Quei che dipinge lì, non ha chi il guidi;
Ma esso guida, e da lui si rammenta 110
Quella virtù ch' è forma per li nidi.
L' altra beatitudo, che contenta
Pareva in prima d' ingigliarsi all' emme,
Con poco moto, seguitò la imprenta.
O dolce stella, quali e quante gemme
Mi dimostraron, che nostra giustizia
Effetto sia del cielo che tu ingemme!
Per ch' io prego la mente, in che s' inizia

seem to have puzzled themselves over this common idiom. Observe that as yet we have only the head and neck of the eagle; the whole bird with open wings is not complete. At present the M has taken the form of a fleur-de-lys (l. 113) surmounted by the eagle's head. See the late Duke of Sermoneta's explanation with diagrams, given at length by Scartazzini.

111 Philalethes is no doubt right in explaining this to mean that the same formative power which shapes the young bird in the egg, is here displayed in the formation of the eagle's shape.

112 **L' altra beatitudo**: the rest of the blessed spirits, other than those forming the head and neck.

114 Those who are familiar with the mediaeval shape of the imperial eagle will see that it can be formed by a slight modification from the lily.

117 **Effetto**: as in viii. 107.

and thy virtue have their origin, that He look whence issues the smoke that spoils thy ray, so that another time hereafter He may be wroth at the buying and selling within the temple, whose walls were built with signs and martyrdoms. O soldiery of the heaven on whom I gaze, pray for them who are on earth all gone astray after the bad example. Once were they wont to make war with their swords; but now it is waged by taking away now here now there the bread which the good Father locks up from no man. But thou who writest only to cancel, bethink thee that Peter and Paul who died for the vine that thou art

Tuo moto e tua virtute, che rimiri
Ond' esce il fummo, che il tuo raggio vizia: 120
Sì ch' un' altra fiata omai s' adiri
Del comperare e vender dentro al templo,
Che si murò di segni e di martiri.[h]
O milizia del Ciel, cu' io contemplo,
Adora per color, che sono in terra
Tutti sviati dietro al malo esemplo.
Già si solea con le spade far guerra;
Ma or si fa togliendo or qui or quivi
Lo pan, che il pio padre a nessun serra.
Ma tu, che sol per cancellare scrivi, 130
Pensa che Pietro e Paolo, che moriro[i]

[h] *di sangue Gg.* 3 *Ald.* [i] *Polo W.; Paulo Gg. Cass.* 2.

124 So *caelestis militia*, of the angels at the Nativity, De Mon. i. 5 (quoted from Luke ii. 13).

126 Cf. Purg. xvi. 100 sqq.

130 The allusion is to the notorious vacillations of Clement V. See note to xvii. 82. P. di Dante seems to understand the meaning to be that he excommunicated in order to profit by cancelling the excommunication.

laying waste, are yet alive. Well canst thou say: "I have my desire so fixed on him who willed to live solitary, and who was brought by means of dancing to martyrdom, that I know not the Fisherman nor Paul."

Per la vigna che guasti, ancor son vivi.
Ben puoi tu dire: Io ho fermo il disiro
Sì a colui che volle viver solo,
E che per salti fu tratto a martiro,
Ch' io non conosco il Pescator, nè Polo.

[134] **colui**: St. John Baptist, whose image was stamped upon the florin, and who thus is regarded as the special object of Clement's devotion.

[136] **il Pescator.** So Purg. xxii. 63. Scartazzini thinks that the term is meant to be contemptuous here, and that the use of the vulgar form **Polo** indicates the same.

CANTO XIX.

ARGUMENT.

The Eagle speaks, and shows that God's justice is not as man's justice; and reprehends the evil deeds of certain kings.

BEFORE me appeared with its wings outspread the beauteous Image, which in the sweet fruition was making joyous the entwined souls. Each one seemed a little ruby whereon a ray of the sun's light should burn with such a flame as to reflect him into my eyes. And that which it behoves me this time

PAREA dinanzi a me con l' ali aperte,
La bella image, che nel dolce frui
Liete faceva l' anime conserte.
Parea ciascuna rubinetto, in cui
Raggio di Sole ardesse sì acceso,
Che nei miei occhi rifrangesse lui.
E quel che mi convien ritrar testeso,

[3] It would be perhaps better to read *facevan*: "the image which the entwined souls in their joy were making." There is practically no difference in many MSS. between the singular and the plural, except what a line over the *a* gives. Dr. Moore tells me that of the MSS. examined by him 79 have *faceva*, 55 *facevan*, and 39 *facendo*. The last involves a comma instead of a stop at the end of the line.

[5] Cf. ii. 33.

[6] **rifrangesse**: see note to Purg. xv. 20.

to portray, voice has never borne nor ink written, nor has it been by fancy ever comprehended; for I saw, and eke I heard the beak talk, and *I* and *My* sound in the voice, when in the conception it was *We* and *Our*. And it began: "Through being righteous and good am I here exalted to this glory, which allows not desire to surpass it; and on earth I left my memory of such sort, that the evil folk there commend it, but follow not its story." Thus does of many coals one single heat make itself felt, as of many loves issued singly one sound from that image. Wherefore I thereafter: "O perpetual flowers of the everlasting joy,

Non portò voce mai, nè scrisse inchiostro,[a]
Nè fu per fantasia giammai compreso;
Ch' io vidi, ed anche udii parlar lo rostro, 10
E sonar nella voce ed Io e Mio,
Quand' era nel concetto Noi e Nostro.
E cominciò: Per esser giusto e pio
Son io qui esaltato a quella gloria,
Che non si lascia vincer a disio:
Ed in terra lasciai la mia memoria
Sì fatta, che le genti lì malvage
Commendan lei, ma non seguon la storia.
Così un sol calor di molte brage
Si fa sentir, come di molti amori 20
Usciva solo un suon di quella image.
Ond' io appresso: O perpetui fiori

[a] *oncostro Gg. Cass.*

15 Another rendering is that preferred by Philalethes: "Which suffers not itself to be won by wishing." But this appears somewhat frigid, and also less idiomatic. See Diaz iii. 123. The only question is whether we ought not, with the Berlin and Caetani MSS., to read *al desio.*

which as one only make all your odours manifest to me, loose for me by your breath the great fast which has kept me a long time in hunger, not finding for it on earth any food. Well know I that if in heaven the divine justice makes any realm its mirror, yours apprehends it not with a veil. Ye know how intent I make me ready to listen; ye know what is that doubt, which is to me a fast of so old standing."

As a falcon which issues from the hood moves its head

Dell' eterna letizia, che per uno
Parer mi fate tutti i vostri odori,[b]
Solvetemi, spirando, il gran digiuno,
Che lungamente m' ha tenuto in fame,
Non trovandoli in terra cibo alcuno.
Ben so io, che se in cielo altro reame
La divina giustizia fa suo specchio,
Che il vostro non l' apprende con velame. 30
Sapete, come attento io m' apparecchio
Ad ascoltar: sapete quale è quello
Dubbio, che m' è digiun cotanto vecchio.
Quasi falcone ch' esce di cappello,[c]
Muove la testa e con l' ali si plaude,

[b] *Sentir Ald. Bi.; p. mi. fece Cass.*
[c] *Qual' il f. uscendo W.; Quasi f. che uscendo Bi.*

23, 24 Cf. Purg. vii. 80, 81.

28 **se—altro.** Cf. Lat. *si quis alius.* Here, if anywhere, is the justice of Heaven mirrored.

33 The nature of the doubt is sufficiently explained in the reply. It is one which has perplexed many pious souls before and since Dante's time; nor has theology gone, on its own premises, any nearer to giving a satisfactory answer.

34 For the metaphor, cf. Purg. xix. 64. As has often been remarked, Dante is extremely fond of images taken from the falcon.

and claps with its wings, showing its wish, and making itself fair, saw I that sign behave, which was woven out of praise of the divine grace, with chants such as he knows who rejoices on high. Then it began: "He who turned the compasses about the end of the world, and within it set out so much occult and manifest, could not make His

Voglia mostrando e facendosi bello,
Vid' io farsi quel segno, che di laude
Della divina grazia era contesto,
Con canti, quai si sa chi lassù gaude.
Poi cominciò: Colui, che volse il sesto 40
Allo stremo del mondo, e dentro ad esso
Distinse tanto occulto e manifesto,
Non potèo suo valor sì fare impresso

40 Scart. quotes appositely Milton P. L. vii. 224:

In his hand
He took the golden compasses, prepared
In God's eternal store, to circumscribe
This universe, and all created things.

There is probably an allusion to Prov. viii. 27. It may be noticed that Dict. Crusc. s.v. *Sesto* considers the word to be used not exactly as equivalent to "compasses," but as an architectural term, denoting "the curvature of an arch or vault."

43-45 Cf. S. T. i. Q. 25. A. 2: Potentia activa invenitur in Deo secundum quod ipse actu est. Esse autem ejus est infinitum, inquantum non est limitatum per aliquid recipiens . . . . Unde necesse est quod activa potentia Dei sit infinita. In omnibus enim agentibus hoc invenitur, quod quanto aliquid agens perfectius habet formam qua agit, tanto est major ejus potentia in agendo. Sicut quanto aliquid est magis calidum tanto habet majorem potentiam ad calefaciendum: et haberet utique potentiam infinitum ad calefaciendum si ejus calor esset infinitus. Unde, cum ipsa essentia divina sit infinita, sequitur quod ejus potentia est infinita. ("Potentia" here is of course simply "power," not "potentiality.") **verbo** is not so much the conception, or wisdom, of God, (Bianchi, Scartazzini) as the creative power; St. John i. 3. It

goodness so imprinted on all the universe that His word should not remain in infinite superabundance. And it proves this, that the first proud one, who was the crown of every creature, through not awaiting light, dropped unripe. Hence it appears that every lesser nature is too scant a receptacle for that good which has no end, and measures itself with itself. Our sight then, which must

In tutto l' universo, che il suo verbo
Non rimanesse in infinito eccesso.
E ciò fa certo, che il primo superbo,
Che fu la somma d' ogni creatura,
Per non aspettar lume cadde acerbo.
E quinci appar, ch' ogni minor natura
È corto recettacolo a quel bene, 50
Ch' è senza fine, e sè con sè misura.[d]
Dunque nostra veduta, che conviene

[d] *sè in sè Ald. Bi.*

may however have been suggested by St. Luke i. 37: "quia non erit impossibile apud Deum omne verbum."

46 **il primo superbo**: Lucifer. Cf. Purg. xii. 25. "The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall" (Bacon). S. T. 1. Q. 63. A. 3: Angelus absque omni dubio peccavit appetendo esse ut Deus . . . . Et hoc modo diabolus appetiit esse ut Deus, non ut ei assimilaretur quantum ad hoc quod est nulli subesse simpliciter . . . . sed in hoc appetiit indebite esse similis Deo, quia appetiit ut finem ultimam beatitudinis id ad quod virtute suae naturae poterat pervenire, avertens suum appetitum a beatitudine supernaturali, quae est ex gratia Dei. A similar fault, he implies, is committed by those who try to measure the Divine justice by their own reason.

52-57 "Our knowledge, which is itself but a portion of God's knowledge, cannot fail to perceive that its source lies far beyond aught of which it is cognisant by the senses." The last three lines are very involved, and seem as if the writer had confused two expressions: "our knowledge has not power to discern its origin," and "the origin of our knowledge lies far beyond the intimations of sense." Bianchi's

needs be one of the rays of the mind whereof all things are full, cannot of its nature be so potent as not to discern that its origin is far beyond that which is apparent to it. Wherefore into the everlasting justice the view which your world receives enters within as eyesight through the sea, which, albeit it sees the bottom from the shore, on the high sea sees it not; and nevertheless it exists; but its being deep conceals it. Light is there none, unless it comes from the serene which is never troubled, rather is it darkness, or the shadow of the flesh, or its venom. Now is laid open enough

Essere alcun dei raggi della mente,
Di che tutte le cose son ripiene,
Non può di sua natura esser possente
Tanto, che suo principio non discerna[e]
Molto di là, da quel ch' egli è, parvente.
Però nella giustizia sempiterna
La vista che riceve il vostro mondo,
Com' occhio per lo mar, entro s' interna: 60
Chè benchè dalla proda veggia il fondo,[f]
In pelago non vede; e nondimeno
Egli è, ma cela lui l' esser profondo.
Lume non è, se non vien dal sereno,
Che non si turba mai, anzi è tenebra,[g]
Od ombra della carne, o suo veleno.

[e] *si discerna* 145. [f] *della proda Gg. Cass.* 124. [g] *si muta* 145.

interpretation of **di là** as *lontano* will hardly do; and Giuliani's suggestion of *di quà*, though ingenious, and simplifying, wholly lacks authority. There is a curious anticipation of Spinoza in the lines 52–54.

61-63 With the metaphor cf. Purg. viii. 69: Non gli è guado.

64 **sereno**: evidently with allusion to its common meaning, "the clear sky."

66. "*ombra* riguarda l'intelletto, *veleno* la volontà."—Scart.

to thee the hiding-place which hid from thee the living justice whereof thou wast wont to make so frequent question: for thou saidest: A man is born on the bank of the Indus, and none is there to talk of Christ, nor to read, nor to write; and all his volitions and acts are good, so far as human reason sees, without sin in life or in converse. He dies unbaptized and without faith; where is this justice which condemns him? where is his fault, if he believes not? Now who art thou, who wilt sit in chancery to judge at a thousand miles away with thy sight shortened to a span?

Assai t' è mo aperta la latebra,
  Che t' ascondeva la giustizia viva,
  Di che facei quistion cotanto crebra;
Che tu dicevi: Un uom nasce alla riva 70
  Dell' Indo, e quivi non è chi ragioni
  Di Christo, nè chi legga, nè chi scriva:
E tutti suoi voleri ed atti buoni
  Sono, quanto ragione umana vede,
  Senza peccato in vita od in sermoni:
Muore non battezzato e senza fede;
  Ov' è questa giustizia, che il condanna?
  Ov' è la colpa sua, s' egli non crede?[h]
Or tu chi sei, che vuoi sedere a scranna[i]
  Per giudicar da lungi mille miglia, 80
  Con la veduta corta d' una spanna?

[h] *Qual' è Ald.* [i] *a scanna Gg. Cass.* 124.

70 sqq. Cf. De Mon. ii. 8: Quaedam autem sunt Dei judicia, ad quae humana ratio, etsi ex propriis pertingere nequit, elevatur tamen ad illa cum adjutorio fidei et eorum quae in sacris literis nobis dicta sunt; sicut ad hoc: quod nemo, quantumcunque moralibus et intellectualibus virtutibus, et secundum habitum et secundum operationem perfectus, absque fide salvari potest; dato quod nunquam de Christo audiverit.

77 Cf. iv. 67.

Of a surety he who sets himself to be subtle with me, if the Scripture were not above you, would to a marvel have whereof to doubt. O earthly animals, O gross minds! The primary Will which is of itself good, never has moved from itself, that is the highest Good. In such measure is It just, as with It is consonant; no created good draws It to itself, but Itself, radiating, occasions it."

As right above her nest wheels round the stork after she has fed her young, and as the one who has been fed looks back at her, so became, while I so raised my eyes, the blessed image, which was moving its wings, impelled by so high counsels. Rotating it began to sing and said: "As are my notes to thee who understandest them not, such is the eternal judgement to you mortals."

Certo a colui che meco s' assottiglia,
  Se la scrittura sovra voi non fosse,
  Da dubitar sarebbe a maraviglia.
O terreni animali, o menti grosse,
  La prima Volontà ch' è per sè buona,
  Da sè, ch' è sommo ben, mai non si mosse.
Cotanto è giusto, quanto a lei consuona:
  Nullo creato bene a sè la tira,
  Ma essa, radiando, lui cagiona. 90
Quale sovresso il nido si rigira,
  Poi ch' ha pasciuti la cicogna i figli,
  E come quel ch' è pasto la rimira,
Cotal si fece, e sì levai li cigli,
  La benedetta immagine, che l' ali
  Movea sospinta da tanti consigli.
Roteando cantava, e dicea: Quali
  Son le mie note a te, che non le intendi,
  Tal è il giudicio eterno a voi mortali.

After those bright beacons of the Holy Spirit were at rest, still in the sign which made the Romans to be revered by the world, it began again: "To this realm never has ascended one who believed not in Christ, either before or after He was nailed to the tree. But behold, many cry, Christ, Christ, who in the judgement shall be far less near to Him than such an one that knew not Christ; and such Christians shall the Ethiop condemn, when the two companies shall be sundered, the one rich to everlasting, the other poor. What will the men of Persia be able to say to your kings, when they shall see that volume opened

Poi si quetaron quei lucenti incendi[k] 100
Dello Spirito Santo ancor nel segno,
Che fe i Romani al mondo reverendi,
Esso ricominciò: A questo regno
Non salì mai chi non credette in CRISTO,
Nè pria nè poi che il si chiavasse al legno.
Ma vedi, molti gridan CRISTO CRISTO,[m]
Che saranno in giudicio assai men *prope*
A lui, che tal che non conobbe CRISTO:
E tai Cristian dannerà l' Etiope,
Quando si partiranno i due collegi, 110
L' uno in eterno ricco, e l' altro inope.
Che potran dir li Persi ai vostri regi,
Com' ei vedranno quel volume aperto,

[k] *Poi seguitando Cass.; seguitaro* 124.
[l] *et pria et poi Cass.; el . . el . .* 1 (*et el*) 45; *Vel . . vel Ald.*
[m] *gridar* alt. to *gridan Gg.*

102 Cf. Canto vi. *passim.*
105 Cf. xx. 105.
106 sqq. Cf. St. Matt. viii. 11, and xii. 41.

in which are written all the dispraises of them? There shall be seen among the deeds of Albert that which soon will set the pen in movement, through which the kingdom of Prague shall become desert. There shall be seen the woe which upon Seine is bringing, through debasing the money, he who shall die by stroke of boar. There shall be

Nel qual si scrivon tutti suoi dispregi?[n]
Lì si vedrà tra l' opere d' Alberto
Quella che tosto moverà la penna,
Perchè il regno di Praga fia deserto.
Lì si vedrà il duol, che sopra Senna
Induce, falseggiando la moneta,
Quei che morrà di colpo di cotenna. 120
Lì si vedrà la superbia ch' asseta,

[n] *servion* 15.

115 Observe the structure of this and the following tercets; and cf. Purg. xii. 25 sqq. From this point to the end of the Canto the notes of Philalethes will be found of great service. I have taken so much as is required to make the allusions intelligible.—**Alberto.** Albert of Hapsburg (Purg. vi. 97) in 1304 invaded and devastated Bohemia, with the object of forcing Wenceslaus IV. to consent to the substitution of Carlo Ruberto, son of Carlo Martello (viii. 31), for his own son, Wenceslaus, on the throne of Hungary.

116 **penna**: that wherewith events are written in the book of God.

118-120 The debasement of the coinage by Philip the Fair was notorious among the misdeeds of his reign. He died in 1314 from the effects of a fall from his horse, caused by the charge of a wild boar. "Essendo a sua caccia, uno porco salvatico gli s' attraversò tra le gambe del cavallo in su che era, e fecelne cadere, e poco appresso morì." Vill. ix. 66.—**cotenna**: lit. "a boar's hide."

121-123 The allusion is to the contests of Edward I. with the Scotch which had raged till just before this time. The raids of either side across the border seem to have especially struck the Italian imagination. See Vill. viii. 67.

seen the pride that causes thirst, which is making the Scot and the Englishman so mad that each cannot endure within his own boundaries. Seen shall be the luxury and the delicate living of him of Spain and of him of Bohemia, that never knew goodness nor willed it. Seen shall be the lame man of Jerusalem to have his good quality marked with an I, while an M shall mark the contrary. Seen shall be the avarice and the baseness of him who keeps the Island of the fire, where Anchises ended his long life. And, to give to understand how paltry he is, the writing of

Che fa lo Scotto e l' Inghilese folle
Sì che non può soffrir dentro a sua meta.
Vedrassi la lussuria, e il viver molle
Di quel di Spagna, e di quel di Buemme,
Che mai valor non conobbe nè volle.
Vedrassi al Ciotto di Gerusalemme
Segnata con un I la sua bontate,
Quando il contrario segnerà un' emme.
Vedrassi l' avarizia e la viltate 130
Di quel che guarda l' isola del fuoco,
Dove Anchise finì la lunga etate:
E a dare ad intender quanto è poco,

125 **quel di Spagna** is Ferdinand IV. of Castile (1295–1312); obviously not Alfonso X., for Dante is speaking only of princes actually reigning at the time.—**quel di Buemme**: Wenceslaus IV., the prince commemorated in Purg. vii. 101.

127 **il Ciotto di Gerusalemme**: Charles II. of Apulia and Naples, a crown which carried the title of King of Jerusalem. "Fu sciancato alquanto," Vill. vii. 1. See note to Purg. vii. 126. The words of Villani there quoted sufficiently explain the two next lines.

131 Frederick of Aragon, king of Sicily; Purg. vii. 119.

133-135 These lines are somewhat obscure, and the notes in Gg. hardly less so. The writer says: "per contrarium quod multa mala possunt dici de eo in paucis verbis"; and to **mozze** he has: "i.e.

him shall be maimed letters, which shall note much in small space. And to all men shall appear the filthy works of his uncle and of his brother, who have made so famous a nation and two crowns dishonoured. And those of Portugal and of Norway shall there be known, and he of

La sua scrittura fien lettere mozze,
Che noteranno molto in parvo loco.°
E parranno a ciascun l' opere sozze
Del barba, e del fratel, che tanto egregia
Nazione e due corone han fatte bozze.
E quei di Portogallo e di Norvegia

° *Che non terranno Cass.* 3.

singulis proprietatibus." Perhaps the best explanation is that which understands the **lettere mozze** to be abbreviations, such as were common in the writing of the time, in order to save space. The meaning then must be, not that Frederick's crimes were so many that there would be lack of space to record them (which would make the use of such a word as **poco** very awkward), but that he was too contemptible to be worth more than a rapid and abbreviated record. The Aldine reads *quanto è poco la sua scrittura; fien l. m.* It is not impossible that *fie 'n* may be better.

137 **il barba**: James of Aragon, brother of Peter, and king of Majorca.—**il fratel**: James, son of Peter, king of Aragon: Purg. vii. 119.

139 Denis, king of Portugal, 1279–1325. He seems to have had a good report among his contemporaries, and to have governed well, extending especially the commerce of his country. Philalethes suggests, upon a hint given by the Ottimo, that this may have been his fault in Dante's eyes. It is however remarkable that all the sovereigns of the Spanish peninsula come in for a share in this invective, that about this time there was a pause in the process of expelling the Mussulmans from that country, and that nearly all the others named are rulers of territories on the outskirts of Christendom. It looks almost as if Dante intended this list as a kind of counterpart to the roll of champions of the faith given in the last Canto. Observe that in xv. 144 it is "vostra *giustizia*" which the infidel usurps. There is probably a further charge implied, that the modern kings were too much occupied in fighting among themselves, to be able to attend to internal good

Rascia who to his own hurt saw the coin of Venice. O happy Hungary, if none is allowed any more to maltreat it! and happy Navarre, if it should fortify itself with the mountain that wraps it round! And each man must believe that already, for earnest of this, Nicosìa and Famagosta are lamenting themselves and clamouring by reason of their beast, which separates not itself from the side of the others.

Lì si conosceranno, e quel di Rascia, 140
Che male ha visto il conio di Vinegia.[p]
O beata Ungaria, se non sì lascia
Più malmenare! e beata Navarra,
Se s' armasse del monte che la fascia!
E creder dee ciascun, che già per arra
Di questo, Nicosìa e Famagosta
Per la lor bestia si lamenti e garra,
Che dal fianco dell' altre non si scosta.

[p] *adiusto Ald.; aggiustò Bi. Giul.*

government.—**Norvegia**: Hakon the Longlegged (1299–1319) passed his reign in wars with Denmark.

140, 141 Stephen Ouros, king of Rascia (the modern Illyria and Dalmatia), seems to have struck coins of debased metal more or less in imitation of the Venetian ducat. "Iste falsificavit ducatum Venetorum," says Comm. Gg. These were excluded by decree from the Venetian territory.—**mal**, as in Purg. iv. 72. He appears also to have first defrauded and then gone to war with the Republic of Ragusa. See Sir G. Wilkinson, Dalmatia, vol. i. p. 310.

142 The kingdom of Hungary had just passed into the hands of Charles Robert of Anjou, son of Charles Martel (Canto viii.). Dante's words may be ironical; but possibly he hoped for good things from the son of the only member of the house of Anjou whom he admired.

143 Joan of Navarre married Philip the Fair, but continued to rule the kingdom herself. At her death in 1304 the crowns of Navarre and France were for a while united in Louis Hutin and his brothers.

146 Cyprus was being misgoverned at this time by Henry II. of the house of Lusignan and his brother Almeric, prince of Tyre.

CANTO XX.

ARGUMENT.

The Eagle speaks further, showing who are the souls whereof his eye is composed, and how it comes to pass that certain pagans are among them.

WHEN he who illumines all the world is so descending from our hemisphere, that the day is melting away on every hand, the heaven which before is kindled with him only suddenly becomes again apparent by reason of many lights, on which a single one beams. And this fashion of

QUANDO colui che tutto il mondo alluma,
Dell' emisperio nostro sì discende,
Che il giorno d' ogni parte si consuma,[a]
Lo ciel che sol di lui prima s' accende,[b]
Subitamente si rifà parvente
Per molte luci, in che una risplende.

[a] *E 'l giorno Ald. Bi.* [b] *semprende Gg.*

[4] I have followed the usual reading and rendering, which however is not satisfactory, on account of the awkwardness of the present **accende**, where a past tense is obviously required. May we not read with at least one MS. *primo*, "the heaven which is the first to be kindled with his sole light," i.e. the eastern heaven? It is here of course that the light of the rising sun first puts out all others, and here that the stars begin to reappear at sunset.

[6] **una**: because in Dante's time it was held that all the stars shone by the sun's reflected light. See Conv. ii. 14: del suo lume tutte le

the heaven came to my mind, when the ensign of the world and of its leaders was silent in its sacred beak; seeing that all those living lights shining far more, began songs which from my memory have slipped and fallen.

O sweet love, who cloakest thyself with a smile, how ardent didst thou appear amid those pipes which have their breath only of holy thoughts.

After that the costly and lucid stones wherewith I saw the sixth light ingemmed had imposed silence on their

E quest' atto del ciel mi venne a mente,
Come il segno del mondo, e dei suoi duci,
Nel benedetto rostro fu tacente:
Però che tutte quelle vive luci, 10
Vie più lucendo, cominciaron canti[c]
Da mia memoria labili e caduci.
O dolce Amor, che di riso t' ammanti,[d]
Quanto parevi ardente in quei flailli,[e]
Ch' aveano spirto sol di pensier santi!
Poscia che i cari e lucidi lapilli,
Ond' io vidi ingemmato il sesto lume,

[c] *lucenti Gg. W.* [d] *di luce t' am. Gg.*
[e] *flavilli Gg.; favilli Ald.*

altre stelle s' informano; and iii. 12: il sole, lo quale di sensibile luce sè prima e poi tutti i corpi celestiali e elementali allumina.

7 sqq. As when the sun is gone, the stars come out, so when the eagle ceased speaking, the various voices were heard in their song.

14 **flailli** seems to be the reading with most authority. The word does not occur elsewhere, but it may well be formed from the old Fr. *flajol*, mod. *flageolet*. The next line is hardly intelligible unless some kind of musical instrument is intended. Scartazzini suggests *failli* = old Fr. *faille*, from *facula*. But this is already represented by *fiaccola*, and the change of gender would alone be an almost insurmountable objection.

angelic chime, methought I heard a murmuring of a stream which descends clear, down from rock to rock, showing the abundance of its head. And as a sound takes its form at the neck of the lute, and as at the orifice of the shawm the wind which passes through, so, delay of expectation removed, that murmuring of the eagle rose up through his neck, as it had been hollow. There it became voice, and thence it issued through his beak in form of words, such as was awaiting the heart wherein I wrote them down.

"The part in me which sees and endures the sun in mortal eagles," it began to me, "now would be gazed on

Poser silenzio agli angelici squilli,
Udir mi parve un mormorar di fiume,[f]
Che scende chiaro giù di pietra in pietra, 20
Mostrando l' ubertà del suo cacume.
E come suono al collo della cetra
Prende sua forma, e sì come al pertugio
Della sampogna vento che penetra;
Così rimosso d' aspettare indugio
Quel mormorar dell' aquila salissi,[g]
Su per lo collo, come fosse bugio.
Fecesi voce quivi, e quindi uscissi
Per lo suo becco in forma di parole,
Quali aspettava il cuore, ov' io le scrissi. 30
La parte in me, che vede, e pate il sole
Nell' aguglie mortali, incominciommi,
Or fisamente riguardar si vuole:

[f] *Adir* 145. [g] *per l' aquila Gg.; per laguglia* 3.

[20] We should rather expect *scenda*; but cf. xxi. 26, and see Purg. xxii. 67.

[23] The note is the form, the sound is the material.

fixedly; because, of the fires whereof I make my shape those wherewith the eye in my head sparkles, they are highest of all in their grades. He who shines in the midst for pupil was the singer of the Holy Spirit, who transferred the ark from town to town. Now knows he the merit of his chant in so far as it was the effect of his counsel, through the recompense which is equally great. Of the five, who make me a circle for eyelid, he who is closest beside my beak, consoled the poor widow for her son.

Perchè dei fuochi, ond' io figura fommi,
  Quelli, onde l' occhio in testa mi scintilla,
  Di tutti in loro gradi son li sommi:
Colui che luce in mezzo per pupilla,
  Fu il cantor dello Spirito Santo,
  Che l' arca traslatò di villa in villa:[h]
Ora conosce il merto del suo canto, 40
  In quanto effetto fu del suo consiglio,[i]
  Per lo remunerar, ch' è altrettanto.
Dei cinque che mi fan cerchio per ciglio,
  Colui che più al becco mi s' accosta,
  La vedovella consolò del figlio:

[h] *trasmutò Gg.* [i] *affetto Ald.*

36 It seems most simple to read **in loro gradi**; and with this the note in Cass. agrees: "illi spiritus qui construunt oculos istius aquilae omnium aliorum construentium dictam Aquilam sunt summiores (*sic*) et venerabiliores."—**gradi** may easily have been attracted into the plural. Observe that only one eye of the eagle is seen, showing that it is imagined in profile, as on the imperial shield.

38 David; with allusion to 2 Sam. vi.

40 **Ora conosce**: note again the structure of the passage to l. 72.

41 This does not appear to mean more than "in so far as it was due to his own design, and not to direct inspiration." *Consilium*, says Aquinas (S. T. ii. 1. Q. 14), relates to means, not ends.

44 Trajan. See Purg. x. 75.

Now knows he how dear it costs not to follow Christ, by the experience of this sweet life and of the opposite. And he who follows in the circumference of which I speak, along the ascending arc, delayed death by true penitence. Now knows he that the eternal decree is not shifted, when a worthy prayer makes to-morrow's on earth of to-day's. The second who follows, with the laws and with me, under a good intention which bore ill fruit, to give way to the Pastor, made himself a Greek. Now knows he how the ill, deduced from his good work, is not harmful to him, albeit that the world be thereby destroyed. And he whom

Ora conosce quanto caro costa
  Non seguir Cristo, per l' esperienza
  Di questa dolce vita e dell' opposta.
E quel che segue in la circonferenza,
  Di che ragiono, per l' arco superno, 50
  Morte indugiò per vera penitenza.
Ora conosce che il giudicio eterno
  Non si trasmuta, quando degno preco[k]
  Fa crastino laggiù dell' odierno.
L' altro, che segue, con le leggi e meco,
  Sotto buona intenzion, che fe mal frutto,
  Per cedere al pastor si fece Greco.
Ora conosce come il mal dedutto
  Dal suo bene operar non gli è nocivo,
  Avvegna che sia il mondo indi distrutto. 60

[k] *perche degno Ald. Bi.*

51 Hezekiah. 2 Kings xx., etc.

52 sqq. Cf. Purg. vi. 37 sqq. So S. T. ii. 2. Q. 83. A. 2 : Oratio nostra non ordinatur ad immutationem divinae dispositionis, sed ut obtineatur nostris precibus quod Deus disposuit.

55 Constantine the Great.—**meco** : cf. vi. 1.

56 Purg. xxxii. 138. 60 Inf. xix. 115.

thou seest on the downward arc was William, whom that land mourns which laments living Charles and Frederick. Now knows he how the heaven is enamoured of the just king, and in the semblance of his brightness he still makes it seen. Who would believe down in the erring world that Rhipeus of Troy should be in this round the fifth of the holy lights? Now knows he enough of that which the world cannot see of the divine grace, albeit his view

E quel che vedi nell' arco declivo,
  Guiglielmo fu, cui quella terra plora,
  Che piange Carlo e Federigo vivo.
Ora conosce come s' innamora
  Lo Ciel del giusto rege, ed al sembiante
  Del suo fulgore il fa vedere ancora.
Chi crederebbe giù nel mondo errante,
  Che Rifèo Troiano in questo tondo
  Fosse la quinta delle luci sante?
Ora conosce assai di quel che il mondo 70
  Veder non può della divina grazia;

[62] William II. "the Good," king of Sicily and Apulia, 1166–1189. He was third and last in direct descent from Roger de Hauteville, "the Great Count." He married the daughter of Henry II. of England, and on his death, without children, the crown passed, not uncontested, to his aunt Constance (iii. 118). "The Sicilians in later times looked back to the rule of this admirable prince, just as our oppressed forefathers talked of the good laws of Edward the Confessor."—(Kington-Oliphant, Hist. of Frederick II., vol. i., p. 22.) It may be observed that Villani (iv. 20) makes terrible confusion of the history of the Norman kings of Sicily.

[63] **Carlo e Federigo**: xix. 127 sqq.

[68] Aen. ii. 426:

Cadit et Rhipeus, justissimus unus
Qui fuit in Teucris, et servantissimus aequi:
Dis aliter visum.

Did the last three words give the hint for ll. 70–72?

discerns not the depth." Like a lark which goes abroad in air, singing first, and then holds her peace content with the last sweetness which sates her; such seemed to me the image of the imprint of the eternal pleasure, according to its desire for which each thing becomes of what sort it is. And albeit in that place I was in regard to my doubting as

Benchè sua vista non discerna il fondo.
Quale allodetta, che in aere si spazia[1]
Prima cantando, e poi tace contenta
Dell' ultima dolcezza che la sazia,
Tal mi sembiò l' imago della imprenta
Dell' eterno piacere, al cui disio
Ciascuna cosa, quale ell' è, diventa.
E avvegna ch' io fossi al dubbiar mio

[1] *adoletta Gg.; lodoletta Bi.*

76 The symmetry of the passage, Scartazzini holds, requires that **contenta** be understood before **della imprenta.** We must not take it as a genitive after **imago.** On this interpretation the "imprint of the eternal pleasure" must correspond with the **ultima dolcezza,** and must thus refer to the last words which the eagle has spoken, and the "pleasure" must therefore be the contemplation of the "depth of the riches of the wisdom of God." This would be satisfactory, were there not an obvious parallelism with xviii. 109–114. **Quale ell' è** must mean "in its form"; and the repetition of *imprenta* points the allusion. The eagle, as the symbol of the empire, is the image of the eternal pleasure, the desire for which is the formal cause of all things: i. 102 sqq. See also De Mon. i. 10. We must not, with some commentators, understand **disio** of God's will; for St. Thomas distinctly states (S. T. i. Q. 20. Art. 1) that "desiderium est boni non habiti," and denotes imperfection; and consequently cannot be predicated of God.

77 **eterno piacere**: cf. xviii. 16.

79 **dubbiar**: how the presence of Rhipeus and Trajan is to be reconciled with what was said at l. 103 of the last Canto.

glass to the colour which covers it, it did not suffer me to wait a while in silence, but with the force of its weight it urged from my mouth, "What things are these?" Wherefore of sparkling I beheld great festival. Thereafter with its eye more kindled, the blessed ensign responded to me, not to keep me suspense in wondering: "I see that thou believest these things because I say them, but seest not how; so that if they are believed, they are concealed. Thou dost as he who well apprehends the thing by name, but its quiddity he cannot see, if another sets it not forth. *Regnum*

Lì, quasi vetro allo color, che il veste; 80
Tempo aspettar tacendo non patìo:
Ma della bocca: Che cose son queste?
Mi pinse con la forza del suo peso;
Per ch' io di corruscar vidi gran feste.
Poi appresso con l' occhio più acceso
Lo benedetto segno mi rispose,
Per non tenermi in ammirar sospeso:
Io veggio che tu credi queste cose,
Perch' io le dico, ma non vedi come:
Sì che se son credute, sono ascose. 90
Fai come quei che la cosa per nome
Apprende ben; ma la sua quiditate
Veder non puote, s' altri non la prome.
Regnum caelorum violenzia pate

80 It may here be noted that until the fifteenth century only "ruby" glass was "coated," i.e. made with a film of colour on one side, the rest being clear, whence the force of the metaphor. All other glass was "pot metal;" that is, coloured throughout.

84 It will be remembered that an increase of brightness in the blessed spirits is the equivalent of a smile. See v. 126.

94 Matt. xi. 12, where the Greek has *βιάζεται*, not exactly rendered either by the "vim patitur" of the Vulgate, and still less by our

caelorum suffereth violence of warm love and of lively hope, which overcomes the divine will, not in such wise as man has the mastery over man, but overcomes it, because it wills to be overcome, and being overcome, overcomes with its own goodness. The first life in the eyelid and the fifth make thee marvel because with them thou seest the angels' domain adorned. They issued not from their bodies as thou deemest Gentiles, but Christians, in firm faith, he of the Feet that should suffer, he of them having suffered. For the one from Hell, whence never has any come back

Da caldo amore e da viva speranza,
Che vince la divina volontate,
Non a guisa che l' uomo all' uom sobranza,
Ma vince lei perchè vuole esser vinta,
E vinta vince con sua beninanza.
La prima vita del ciglio e la quinta 100
Ti fa maravigliar, perchè ne vedi
La region degli Angeli dipinta.
Dei corpi suoi non uscir, come credi,
Gentili, ma Cristiani, in ferma fede,
Quel dei passuri, e quel dei passi piedi:
Chè l' una dello inferno, u' non si riede
Giammai a buon voler, tornò all' ossa,

"suffereth violence." Dante evidently however understood the meaning correctly.

95 Observe how the three virtues of faith, hope, and love are worked in throughout this exposition. We have them (1) in this line and 104; (2) in 109, 114, 116; (3) 121, 123, 124; and all together in 127.

105 Because one died before Christ, the other after.

106 In Hell there is no repentance.

107 **tornò all' ossa**: the case of Trajan (who was recalled to life, according to the legend, by the prayers of St. Gregory the Great, in order that he might have room for repentance) is cited by Aquinas,

to a good will, returned to his bones, and this was a reward of a lively hope; of a lively hope, which put its power into the prayers made to God to raise him up, in such wise that His will could be moved. The glorious soul, whereof my speech is, it is told having returned to the flesh, in which it was a short time, believed in Him who had the power to aid it; and believing was kindled into such a fire of true love, that at its second death, it was worthy to come to this mirth. The other, through grace which trickles from a fountain so deep that never creature has urged its sight

E ciò di viva speme fu mercede;[m]
Di viva speme, che mise la possa[m]
Nei prieghi fatti a Dio per suscitarla, 110
Sì che potesse sua voglia esser mossa.
L' anima gloriosa onde si parla,
Tornata nella carne, in che fu poco,
Credette in lui che poteva aiutarla.
E credendo s' accese in tanto fuoco
Di vero amor, ch' alla morte seconda[n]
Fu degna di venire a questo giuoco.[o]
L' altra, per grazia, che da sì profonda
Fontana stilla, che mai creatura

[m] *divina spene Gg.* 2, 14 (*divine* in second line).
[n] *che la morta Gg.; – e* 1245. [o] *loco Gg.*

Suppl. Q. 75. A. 5. He has evidently some difficulty in reconciling it with the orthodox doctrine that prayer is of no avail for those in Hell.

108 **speme**: that of St. Gregory.

117 The idea of placing Rhipeus among the saved seems to be Dante's own. He would probably justify it by the doctrine of Aquinas, S. T. iii. Q. 66. A. 11: Aliquis per virtutem Spiritus sancti consequitur effectum baptismi; non solum sine baptismo aquae sed etiam sine baptismo sanguinis; inquantum scilicet alicujus cor per Spiritum sanctum movetur ad credendum et diligendum Deum, et poenitendum de peccatis; unde etiam dicitur baptismus poenitentiae.

to the first wave, placed all his love below on righteousness, wherefore from grace to grace God opened his eye to our future redemption; whence he believed in that and endured not thenceforth any more the stink of paganism, and reproved thereof the perverse folk. Those three dames were to him for baptism whom thou sawest by the right wheel, more than a thousand years before the baptizing. O predestination, how remote is thy root from those sights which see not the first cause in its wholeness! And you, mortals, hold yourselves strictly in judging; for we who see God, know not yet all the elect. And a stint of such sort is dear

Non pinse l' occhio insino alla prim' onda, 120
Tutto suo amor laggiù pose a drittura:
Perchè di grazia in grazia Iddio gli aperse
L' occhio alla nostra redenzion futura:
Onde credette in quella, e non sofferse
Da indi il puzzo più del paganesmo,
E riprendeane le genti perverse.
Quelle tre donne gli fur per battesmo,
Che tu vedesti dalla destra ruota,
Dinanzi al battezzar più d' un millesmo.
O predestinazion, quanto rimota 130
È la radice tua da quegli aspetti,
Che la prima cagion non veggion *tota!*
E voi mortali tenetevi stretti
A giudicar; chè noi, che Dio vedemo,
Non conosciamo ancor tutti gli eletti:

128 Purg. xxix. 121.

135 S. T. i. Q. 23. A. 7: Soli Deo est cognitus numerus electorum in superna felicitate locandus; and Suppl. Q. 92. A. 3: Sancti in paradiso videntes Deum non omnia videbunt quae Deus videt.

to us, because our good is refined in this good, that what God wills we will also."

In such wise by that divine image, to make clear my short sight in me, was a sweet medicine given me. And as with a good singer a good harpist makes the thrill of the string go along, whereby the song acquires more pleasantness, so, while it spoke, it remembers me that I saw the two blessed lights, just as a closing of eyes is made in concord, move their flamelets together with the words.

Ed enne dolce così fatto scemo:
  Perchè il ben nostro in questo ben s' affina,
  Che quel che vuole Iddio, e noi volemo.
Così da quella immagine divina,
  Per farmi chiara la mia corta vista, 140
  Data mi fu soave medicina.
E come a buon cantor buon citarista
  Fa seguitar lo guizzo della corda,
  In che più di piacer lo canto acquista,
Sì mentre che parlossi, mi ricorda[p]
  Ch' io vidi le due luci benedette,
  Pur come batter d' occhi si concorda,
Con le parole muover le fiammette.

[p] *parlò, si mi Cass. W.* 1245; *parlò, mi si Ald.*

145 I have followed the reading of Gg. and the Mantuan edition; which last, it may here be remarked, is much the most carefully edited of the four which Lord Vernon reproduced.

147 Cf. xii. 26.

CANTO XXI.

ARGUMENT.

Beatrice smiles no longer, as they ascend to the seventh Heaven, of Saturn, wherein is Jacob's ladder, reaching upwards out of sight. The soul of St. Peter Damian explains the reason why the song of the blessed is not heard there, and shows that God's counsels are hidden. Then he speaks of his own life, and the backsliding of the clergy.

ALREADY were my eyes fixed again upon the countenance of my Lady, and my mind with them, and from every other attention it had withdrawn itself; and she was not smiling; but, "If I smiled," she began to me, "thou wouldst become what Semele was, when she became of ashes; for my beauty, which through the stairs of the eternal palace is more kindled, as thou hast observed, in proportion as one

GIÀ eran gli occhi miei rifissi al volto
Della mia Donna, e l' animo con essi,
E da ogni altro intento s' era tolto;
E quella non ridea, ma, S' io ridessi,
Mi cominciò, tu ti faresti quale
Fu Semelè, quando di cener fessi:
Chè la bellezza mia, che per le scale
Dell' eterno palazzo più s' accende,
Com' hai veduto, quanto più si sale,

1-3 There is a certain similarity of structure between these lines and the opening of Purg. xxxii.

more ascends, if it were not tempered, is of such splendour that thy mortal power would at its effulgence be as a leaf which a thunderbolt rends apart. We have been raised to the seventh splendour, which beneath the breast of the burning Lion is now beaming down, mingled with his might. Fix thy mind after thine eyes, and make of those mirrors to the figure, which in that mirror shall be apparent to thee."

He who should know what was the feasting of my eyes on the blessed countenance, when I transferred myself to

Se non si temperasse, tanto splende, 10
Che il tuo mortal podere al suo fulgòre
Sarebbe fronda, che tuono scoscende.[a]
Noi sem levati al settimo splendore,
Che sotto il petto del Leone ardente
Raggia mo misto giù del suo valore.
Ficca dirietro agli occhi tuoi la mente,
E fa di quelli specchi alla figura,[b]
Che in questo specchio ti sarà parvente.
Qual sapesse qual era la pastura
Del viso mio nell' aspetto beato, 20
Quand' io mi trasmutai ad altra cura,

[a] *Parrebbe Gg. Ald.; trono Gg. Cass.* 124. [b] *specchio Ald. Bi.*

[13] The sphere of Saturn.

[14] In the spring of 1300 Saturn was in the *constellation* Leo. See note xvi. 37.

[15] The force of **misto** will be understood when we remember that Saturn was regarded as a cold planet, while the Lion has a hot influence. Others, e.g. P. di Dante, read *mesto* (which that commentator explains by saying that Saturn would be unhappy in a sign of such opposite qualities to his own !).

[18] **specchio :** primarily the planet, as shining by reflected light (see note, Purg. iv. 62). But it is also applied to the celestial intelligences by whom the influence of the planet is directed, as in ix. 61).

other care, would recognise how much it was for my pleasure to obey my heavenly escort, counterpoising the one side with the other. Within the crystal which bears the name, as it circles the world, of the world's illustrious chief, under whom all iniquity lay dead, of the colour of gold wherein a ray shines through, I saw a ladder raised on high so far that my eye followed it not. I saw moreover descend downwards by its steps so many splendours that I thought every light which appears in the heaven

Conoscerebbe quanto m' era a grato
  Ubbidire alla mia celeste scorta,
  Contrappesando l' un con l' altro lato.[c]
Dentro al cristallo, che il vocabol porta,
  Cerchiando il mondo, del suo chiaro duce,[d]
  Sotto cui giacque ogni malizia morta,
Di color d' oro in che raggio traluce,
  Vid' io uno scalèo eretto in suso,
  Tanto che nol seguiva la mia luce. 30
Vidi anche per li gradi scender giuso[e]
  Tanti splendor, ch' io pensai ch' ogni lume
  Che par nel ciel quindi fosse diffuso.

[c] *contrapensando Gg.* 24. [d] *Cercando Gg.; caro Ald. Bi.*
[e] *ancho* 3 *Ald.; anco W.*

[27] That under the sway of Saturn peace and justice flourished in the world is of course a commonplace of the classical poets. It will suffice to recall for instance Virg. Ecl. iv. 6, and Georg. ii. 538.

[28] **traluce:** see note to xx. 20. He seems to imagine *transparent* gold.

[29] "Quae scala figurat excelsitudinem graduum sanctae religionis, per quam ad Deum ascendimus."—P. di Dante. So too, substantially, Comm. Cass. It is hard to believe however that there was not a secondary intention of paying a magnificent compliment to Can Grande, whose ladder is made to play a similar part in Saturn to the imperial eagle in Jupiter.

thence had been diffused. And as by their natural custom the daws altogether, at the beginning of the day, bestir themselves to warm their chilly plumes; then some go away without return; others turn them back to whence they started, and others wheeling make a stay; such fashion seemed to me to be there in that sparkling which came together, so soon as it smote upon a certain step; and that one which halted nearest to us became so bright that I said in my thoughts, "I see well the love that thou dost signal to me." But she from whom I await the how and the when of speech and silence, stands still; wherefore I do well, against my wish, in that I ask not. Wherefore she who saw my silence in the sight of Him who sees all, said to me: "Set free thy burning desire."

E come per lo natural costume
  Le pole insieme al cominciar del giorno
  Si muovono a scaldar le fredde piume;
Poi altre vanno via senza ritorno;
  Altre rivolgon sè onde son mosse,
  Ed altre roteando fan soggiorno;
Tal modo párve a me, che quivi fosse 40
  In quello sfavillar, che insieme venne,
  Sì come in certo grado si percosse:
E quel che presso più ci si ritenne,
  Si fe sì chiaro, ch' io dicea pensando:
  Io veggio ben l' amor che tu m' accenne.
Ma quella, ond' io aspetto il come e il quando
  Del dire e del tacer, si sta; ond' io[f]
  Contra il disio fo ben ch' io non dimando.
Per ch' ella che vedeva il tacer mio
  Nel veder di colui che tutto vede, 50
  Mi disse: Solvi il tuo caldo disio.

[f] *si fa Gg.*

And I began: "My service makes not me worthy of thy response, but through her who grants me leave to ask. O blessed life, who standest hidden within thy own joy, make known to me the occasion which has placed thee so near me; and tell me wherefore in this circle is silent the sweet symphony of Paradise, which below through the others sounds so devout." "Thou hast thy hearing mortal, as thy sight," he answered me; "wherefore here is no chant, for the same cause that Beatrice has no smile. Down through the steps of the holy stair have I descended thus far, only to give thee greeting with my speech and with the light which enwraps me; nor has more love made me to be

Ed io incominciai: La mia mercede
Non mi fa degno della tua risposta,
Ma per colei che il chieder mi concede,
Vita beata, che ti stai nascosta
Dentro alla tua letizia, fammi nota
La cagion che sì presso mi t' ha posta:[g]
E di' perchè si tace in questa ruota
La dolce sinfonia di Paradiso,
Che giù per l' altre suona sì devota. 60
Tu hai l' udir mortal sì come il viso,
Rispose a me: onde qui non si canta[h]
Per quel che Beatrice non ha riso.
Giù per li gradi della scala santa
Discesi tanto sol per farti festa
Col dire e con la luce che mi ammanta:
Nè più amor mi fece esser più presta:

[g] *mi t' accosta Ald. Bi.* [h] *però qui Ald. Bi.*

55 Cf. v. 136.

67 The feminine **presta**, though a man is speaking, is probably due to Dante's having used **vita** in addressing the spirit.

67-72 The spirit, in answer to the question in l. 57, explains that it

more alert, for as much love and more is fervent from hence on high, even as the flaming makes manifest to thee. But the high charity which makes us ready servants to the counsel which guides the world casts the lot here, as thou dost observe." "I see well," said I, "O holy lamp, how free love in this court suffices to execute the eternal providence; but this is that which seems to me hard to discern, why thou alone wast predestined to this office among thy consorts." I had not come to the last word before the light made of its middle a centre, whirling itself like a swift millstone. Then the love that was therewithin an-

Chè più e tanto amor quinci su ferve,
Sì come il fiammeggiar ti manifesta.
Ma l' alta carità, che ci fa serve 70
Pronte al consiglio, che il mondo governa,
Sorteggia qui, sì come tu osserve.
Io veggio ben, diss' io, sacra lucerna,[i]
Come libero amore in questa Corte
Basta a seguir la providenza eterna.
Ma questo è quel ch' a cerner mi par forte,
Perche predestinata fosti sola
A questo ufficio tra le tue consorte.
Non venni prima all' ultima parola,
Che del suo mezzo fece il lume centro, 80
Girando sè come veloce mola.
Poi rispose l' amor che v' era dentro :

[i] *sancta l. Gg.; cara Cass.*

was not any superiority to the others in point of charity that caused him to approach Dante, but solely the fact that this duty had been allotted to him, in fulfilment of the eternal counsel, which is itself moved by love.

74 **libero amor** = free-*will;* the will of the blessed being directed by love only.

swered: "A divine light is concentrated upon me, penetrating through this, whereof I am in the womb, the virtue of which, in conjunction with my vision, lifts me above myself so far that I see the Supreme Essence, from which it is expressed. Hence comes the gladness wherewith I am aflame, because to my view, in proportion as it is clear, I match the clearness of my flame. But that soul in heaven which is most purified, that seraph who most has his eye fixed on God, will not satisfy thy demand, seeing that what thou seekest is so far removed in the abyss of the

Luce divina sovra me s' appunta,
Penetrando per questa, ond' io m' inventro;
La cui virtù col mio veder congiunta
Mi leva sovra me tanto, ch' io veggio
La somma essenzia della quale è munta.
Quinci vien l' allegrezza ond' io fiammeggio,
Perchè alla vista mia, quant' ella è chiara,[k]
La chiarità della fiamma pareggio.[l] 90
Ma quell' alma nel ciel che più si schiara,
Quel Serafin, che in Dio più l' occhio ha fisso,
Alla dimanda tua non soddisfàra:
Perocchè sì s' innoltra nell' abisso

[k] *Perchè la Gg. Cass.* 1234 *W.* [l] *carità* 3 *Ald. Bi.*

84 **questa**: sc. *luce.*

89, 90 Cf. xiv. 40 sqq. **alla** seems an almost indispensable emendation for the *la* of MSS. Perhaps, however, we might better read *in la.* In line 90 the reading *carità* has much to be said for it. We shall see hereafter, xxviii. 111, that love is proportioned to vision.

92 Cf. iv. 28.

93 **soddisfara** for *-faria*, say Bianchi and Scartazzini; but neither Diez nor Corticelli recognises the form, while Lombardi understands it as the future. The future is just as intelligible here as the conditional.

eternal law that it is cut off from all created sight. And to the mortal world, when thou returnest, report this, so that it presume not to move its feet toward so high a goal. The mind which here is bright, on earth is smoky; wherefore consider how it can do there below that which it cannot albeit the heaven takes it up."

So did his words give me injunction that I left the question and drew back to ask him humbly who he was. "Between the two shores of Italy rise rocks, and that not

Dell' eterno statuto quel che chiedi,
Che da ogni creata vista è scisso.
Ed al mondo mortal quando tu riedi,
Questo rapporta, sì che non presumma
A tanto segno più muover li piedi.
La mente che qui luce, in terra fumma: 100
Onde riguarda, come può laggiue
Quel che non puote, perchè il ciel l' assumma.
Sì mi prescrisser le parole sue,
Ch' io lasciai la quistione, e mi ritrassi
A dimandarla umilmente chi fue.[m]
Tra due liti d' Italia surgon sassi,

[m] *dimandar Gg. Ald.*

96 Cf. Purg. vi. 123.

100, 101 Even here it is not possible to see into the counsels of God; how much less then on earth.

102 **perchè**, as in Purg. v. 58.

106 The speaker is St. Peter Damian. He was born at Ravenna towards the end of the tenth century, apparently of a poor family; and being brought up by the kindness of his brother (from whom he called himself "Petrus Damiani") he joined the monastery of Fonte Avellana, on the side of Monte Catria, one of the highest peaks of the Apennines, near Gubbio. Pope Stephen IX. made him, much against his own wish, Bishop of Ostia and Cardinal in 1057. He seems to have been a zealous supporter of Gregory VII. in his efforts to reform Church

very distant from thy country, so high that the thunders sound full far below; and make a boss which is called Catria, beneath which has been consecrated a hermitage, which is wont to be set apart for worship only." Thus he recommenced his discourse to me for the third time; and then continuing said: "There to the service of God I became so constant, that only with meats of the olives' juice I lightly used to pass both heats and frosts, content in my contemplative thoughts. That cloister was wont to

E non molto distanti alla tua patria,
Tanto che i tuoni assai suonan più bassi:
E fanno un gibbo, che si chiama Catria,
Disotto al quale è consecrato un ermo, 110
Che suol' esser disposto a sola latria.
Così ricominciommi il terzo sermo:
E poi continuando disse: Quivi
Al servigio di Dio mi fei sì fermo,
Che pur con cibi di liquor d' ulivi
Lievemente passava e caldi e geli,
Contento nei pensier contemplativi.
Render solea quel chiostro a questi cieli

discipline, and to have made journeys with that object into France and Germany. He died at Faenza, 1072.

[107] Note this touch. Some have seen in it a suggestion that this part of the poem was written at the time when an offer was made to Dante and other exiles of readmission to Florence on the performance of certain acts of submission. There is also a tradition, not of very good authority, that he himself passed some time at the monastery of Avellana, after his departure from Verona in 1318. See Balbo, Vita di D., bk. ii., ch. 14; Symonds, "Study of Dante," p. 79.

[111] **latria.** λατρεία is a technical word for the service of God, even as early as Plato. Observe that the quantity does not here follow the Greek accent; probably because the word had got quite naturalised in Latin.

contribute abundantly to these heavens, and now it is grown so useless as needs must soon be revealed. In that place was I, Peter Damian (but Peter the Sinner was in the house of our Lady upon the Adriatic shore). Little remained to me of mortal life when I was sought and drawn to that hat which is being handed down only from bad to worse. Cephas came, and the great vessel of the Holy Spirit came lean and unshod, taking the food of any

Fertilemente: ed ora è fatto vano,
Sì che tosto convien che si riveli. 120
In quel loco fu' io Pier Damiano:
E Pietro peccator fu nella casa[n]
Di Nostra Donna in sul lito Adriano.
Poca vita mortal m' era rimasa,
Quando fui chiesto e tratto a quel cappello,[o]
Che pur di male in peggio si travasa.
Venne Cephas, e venne il gran vasello
Dello Spirito Santo, magri e scalzi

[n] *piscator* 145; *pescator Ald.* [o] *al gran cappello Gg.; et quel c. Ald.*

120 Balbo observes that two centuries and a half later Pius V. turned out the then monks from Avellana, and gave the monastery to the Camaldolese.

121-123 There is some controversy about these lines. That the readings of the MSS. in the second of them vary between *fui* and *fu* does not go for much, because whichever is right, the other was almost certain to be written as often as not. But if we read *fui*, we are met by the difficulty that the monastery of Sta. Maria di Porto fuori at Ravenna to which the allusion must be, did not exist, so far as is known, till 1096, when it was founded by Bishop Peter degli Onesti, known as Petrus Peccator. Some think that Dante confused the two. On the other hand, those who read *fu*, think that it is intended, by a parenthetical statement, to correct the popular confusion. This is no doubt a little awkward, but in the face of the objection that Peter Damian probably was never at Sta. Maria, it seems the best view to adopt. E has not uncommonly a disjunctive force.

hostelry. Now will the modern pastors one to prop them on this hand and on that, and one to lead them, so weighty are they, and one to support them behind. They cover their palfreys with their mantles, so that two beasts go under one skin. O patience, that sufferest so much!" At this word I beheld more flamelets descend from step to step and whirl around, and every whirl made them more beautiful. They came around this one, and halted, and gave a cry of so high sound that it would not be possible here to find its like: nor did I understand it, so overcame me the thunder.

Prendendo il cibo di qualunque ostello.
Or voglion quinci e quindi chi rincalzi 130
Gli moderni pastori, e chi gli meni,
Tanto son gravi, e chi dirietro gli alzi.
Cuopron dei manti loro i palafreni,
Sì che due bestie van sott' una pelle,
O pazienza, che tanto sostieni!
A questa voce vid' io più fiammelle
Di grado in grado scendere e girarsi,
Ed ogni giro le facea più belle.[p]
Dintorno a questa vennero, e fermarsi
E fero un grido di sì alto suono, 140
Che non potrebbe qui assomigliarsi:
Nè io lo intesi, sì mi vinse il tuono.

[p] *si facea Gg.*

129 Luke x. 7, 8.

130 **rincalzi**: as Purg. ix. 72; but there is clearly a play on the **scalzi** of two lines above.

132 **gravi**: heavy with luxurious living; but again, with a bitter irony, he chooses a word capable of a double meaning.

134 **due bestie**: the palfrey and its rider.

CANTO XXII.

ARGUMENT.

St. Benedict shows how in the seventh Heaven are the souls of those who lived in contemplation of sacred things, and further laments the falling away of his brethren through covetousness. Dante and Beatrice mount by the ladder into the eighth, or starry Heaven, and enter it in the sign of the Twins. Thence he looks back upon the universe.

OVERWHELMED with astonishment I turned me to my guide, as a child who runs back ever thither where he has most confidence; and she like a mother who succours at once her pale and panting boy with her voice, which is wont to dispose him aright, said to me: "Knowest thou not that thou art in heaven? and knowest thou not that heaven is all holy, and that which comes to pass with us

OPPRESSO di stupore alla mia guida
  Mi volsi, come parvol che ricorre
  Sempre colà, dove più si confida.
E quella come madre, che soccorre
  Subito al figlio pallido ed anelo,
  Con la sua voce, che il suol ben disporre,
Mi disse: non sai tu che tu sei in Cielo,
  E non sai tu che il Cielo è tutto santo,

2 sqq. Cf. Purg. xxx. 43.

comes of a good zeal? How the chant would have transformed thee, and I by smiling, thou canst now judge, since the shout has moved thee so much; in the which, if thou hadst understood its prayers, by now would the vengeance be known to thee, which thou shalt see before thou diest. The sword of this high place cuts not in hurry, nor slow, save to the seeming of him who is awaiting it either in desire or fear. But turn thee back now toward another, for thou shalt see illustrious spirits enough, if as I say thou guidest back thy view." As was her pleasure I directed

E ciò che ci si fa, vien da buon zelo?[a]
Come t' avrebbe trasmutato il canto, 10
Ed io ridendo, mo pensar lo puoi,
Poscia che il grido t' ha mosso cotanto;
Nel qual se inteso avessi i prieghi suoi,
Già ti sarebbe nota la vendetta,
Che tu vedrai innanzi che tu muoi.[b]
La spada di quassù non taglia in fretta,
Nè tardo, ma che al parer di colui,[c]
Che desiando o temendo l' aspetta.
Ma rivolgiti omai inverso altrui:
Ch' assai illustri spiriti vedrai, 20
Se com' io dico la vista ridui.

[a] *Che ciò Gg.* [b] *La qual v. Ald. Bi.*
[c] *Ne tardo mai, chal piacer di c. Gg.; mai al p. Cass.* 1345; *col piacer* 2.

[9] I.e. that nothing is done here in order to hurt another.

[17] **ma che**: i.e. *magis quam.* So Purg. xviii. 53; and see Diez iii. 379.

[18] The order is inverted. Of course to him who desires it, it seems slow; to him who fears it, quick. The whole passage, from l. 14, recalls Purg. xx. 94–96.

[21] "**ridui** è dell' antiq. *riduire* o *riduere.*"—Bianchi.

my eyes, and saw a hundred little spheres, which at once were growing more fair with mutual rays. I stood like him who represses in himself the prick of his desire, and attempts not asking, in such fear is he of excess. And the largest and brightest of those pearls set itself in front, to make of itself my wish content. Then within it I heard: "If thou sawest as I do the charity which burns among us, thy conceptions would be expressed: but in order that thou by waiting mayest not delay thy lofty end, I will make thee an answer only to the thought concerning which thou art so circumspect. That hill which has Cassino on its

Com' a lei piacque, gli occhi dirizzai,[d]
E vidi cento sperule, che insieme
Più s' abbellivan con mutui rai.
Io stava come quei che in sè ripreme
La punta del disio, e non s' attenta
Del dimandar, sì del troppo si teme:[e]
E la maggiore, e la più luculenta
Di quelle margherite innanzi fessi,
Per far di sè la mia voglia contenta. 30
Poi dentro a lei udi': se tu vedessi,
Com' io, la carità che tra noi arde,
Li tuoi concetti sarebbero espressi;
Ma perchè tu aspettando non tarde
All' alto fine, io ti farò risposta
Pure al pensier, di che sì ti riguarde.
Quel monte a cui Cassino è nella costa,

[d] *gli occhi ritornai Gg.* [e] *Di dim. Gg.* 1234.

31 The speaker is St. Benedict (480–543), by whom the famous monastery of Monte Cassino, near Naples, was founded.

36 *riguardarsi* has almost the meaning of "hesitate." See Dict. Crusc.

side was already frequented on its top by the folk who were deceived and ill-disposed, and I am he who first carried up there the name of Him who brought upon earth the truth that raises us so high; and so great grace shone upon me that I withdrew the villages round about from the impious worship that seduced the world. These other fires were all men of contemplation, kindled with that heat which brings to birth the holy flowers and fruits. Here is Macarius, here is Romuald; here are my brothers who

Fu frequentato già in su la cima
Dalla gente ingannata e mal disposta.
Ed quel son io che su vi portai prima 40
Lo nome di colui, che in terra addusse
La verità che tanto ci sublima:
E tanta grazia sovra me rilusse,
Ch' io ritrassi le ville circostanti
Dall' empio colto, che il mondo sedusse.
Questi altri fuochi tutti contemplanti
Uomini furo, accesi di quel caldo,
Che fa nascere i fiori e i frutti santi.
Qui è Maccario, qui è Romoaldo,

49 Macarius was the name of at least three of the Egyptian hermits of the fourth century. One was a disciple of St. Anthony, and the other two, known as M. of Egypt and of Alexandria respectively, were the heroes of sundry legends. Dante has very probably combined them into one person (Philalethes). The hermit in Orcagna's fresco at Pisa, who calls the attention of the hunting-party to the corpses, is said to be St. Macarius.—**Romoaldo.** St. Romuald was born at Ravenna about 960. In 1009 he founded the famous monastery of Camaldoli, in the Casentino, the "Ermo" of Purg. v. 96. He is said to have seen in a vision a ladder reaching to heaven, on which his brethren were ascending; and this possibly suggested the image of the ladder to Dante.

within their cloisters stayed their feet and kept the heart sound." And I to him: "The love which thou showest in talking with me, and the good semblance which I see and note in all your fires have spread wide my trust in like manner as the Sun does the rose, when she becomes as widely opened as she has the power to be. Wherefore I pray thee, and do thou, father, assure me, if I have power to receive such grace that I may see thee with uncovered form." Wherefore he: "Brother, thy high desire shall be fulfilled up in the last sphere, where are fulfilled all others, and mine. There each longing is perfect, ripe, and whole; in that only is every part there where it always was; because

Qui son li frati miei, che dentro ai chiostri 50
Fermar li piedi, e tennero il cuor saldo.
Ed io a lui: l' affetto che dimostri
Meco parlando, e la buona sembianza
Ch' io veggio e noto in tutti gli ardor vostri,
Così m' ha dilatata mia fidanza,
Come il sol fa la rosa, quando aperta
Tanto divien, quant' ell' ha di possanza.
Però ti prego, e tu, padre, m' accerta,
S' io posso prender tanta grazia, ch' io
Ti veggia con immagine scoverta. 60
Ond' egli: Frate, il tuo alto disio
S' adempierà in su l' ultima spera,
Ove s' adempion tutti gli altri e il mio.
Ivi è perfetta matura ed intera
Ciascuna disianza; in quella sola

[62] In the highest heaven the spirits are seen in bodily form, no longer surrounded with light. "Caelum empyreum habet claritatem gloriae, quae non est conformis cum claritate naturali."—S. T. i. Q. 66. A. 3.—Cf. xxx. 44, 45.

it is not in place, nor is it set on poles, and our ladder goes even to it, wherefore it is so stolen from thy sight. Up to that place on high did the patriarch Jacob see it extend its topmost part, when it appeared to him so charged with angels. But to ascend it no one now parts his feet from earth, and my rule has remained below for the spoiling of paper. The walls that used to be an abbey are become dens of thieves, and the cowls are sacks full of flour of sin. But heavy usury is not levied so much against the pleasure

È ogni parte là, dove sempr' era :[f]
Perchè non è in luogo, e non s' impola :
E nostra scala infino ad essa varca ;
Onde così dal viso ti s' invola.
Infin lassù la vide il Patriarca 70
Jacobbe sporger la superna parte,[g]
Quando gli apparve d' Angeli sì carca.
Ma per salirla mo nessun diparte
Da terra i piedi ; e la regola mia
Rimasa è giù per danno delle carte.
Le mura che soleano esser badìa,
Fatte sono spelonche, e le cocolle
Sacca son piene di farina ria.
Ma grave usura tanto non si tolle

[f] *Che ogni Gg.; Et ogni Cass.* 124.
[g] *Jacob isporger Ald. Bi.; porgere Gg. W.; porger* 1234.

67 **non s' impola** : because it does not revolve. Cf. Conv. ii. 6 : È da sapere che ciascuno cielo, di sotto al cristallino, ha due poli fermi quanto a sè ; e lo nono gli ha fermi e fissi e non mutabili, secondo alcuno rispetto. Of the motionless Empyrean, or tenth heaven, he says just before : esso non è in luogo, ma formato fu solo nella prima Mente.

78 **Sacca** : plural formed like *mura*, etc.

79 **si tolle** : not, I think, "exalts itself," as most comm. seem to take it. *Togliere* is quite a recognised word for the levying of tribute

of God, as that fruit which makes the heart of the monks so foolish. For whatsoever the Church guards belongs all to the folk who ask in God's name, not to a parent, nor to another more foul. The flesh of mortals is so soft, that on earth a good beginning suffices not from the birth of the oak till the making of the acorn. Peter began without gold and without silver, and I with prayer and with fasting, and Francis began his convent in humility. And if thou lookest at the beginning of each one, then lookest again where it has migrated, thou shalt see brown made from

Contra il piacer di Dio quanto quel frutto, 80
Che fa il cuor dei monaci sì folle.
Chè quantunque la Chiesa guarda, tutto
È della gente, che per Dio dimanda,
Non di parente nè d' altro più brutto.
La carne dei mortali è tanto blanda,
Che giù non basta buon cominciamento,
Dal nascer della quercia al far la ghianda.
Pier cominciò sanz' oro e sanza argento,
Ed io con orazione e con digiuno,
E Francesco umilmente il suo convento. 90
E se guardi il principio di ciascuno,
Poscia riguardi là dov' è trascorso,[h]
Tu vederai del bianco fatto bruno.

[h] *rig. il fin dove Gg.*

or interest. For the sin of usury, see Inf. xi.; where (in l. 36) *tollette* would seem to be the right reading.

80 **frutto**: the revenues of Church property, which after payment of the necessary expenses of the Church and its ministers, ought to go to the poor; see xii. 93.

82 **guarda**: "holds in trust," not owns.

84 **più brutto**: concubines and the like.

87 I.e. cannot ripen its fruit.

88 Acts iii. 6.

the white. But in truth Jordan turned back and the sea in flight when God willed, was more wondrous to see, than succour here."

Thus he said to me, and then drew back to his company, and his company closed up; then like a whirlwind, all gathered itself on high.

The sweet Lady urged me after them with only a sign, up over that ladder, so did the virtue in her overcome my nature. Nor ever here below where one mounts and falls was motion naturally so rapid that it could be equalled to my flight. As I hope to return once more, reader, to that devout triumph, for the sake whereof I often bewail my sins and smite my breast, thou hadst not put thy finger

Veramente Giordan volto retrorso[i]
  Più fu, e il mar fuggir, quando Dio volse,[k]
  Mirabile a veder, che qui il soccorso.
Così mi disse: ed indi si ricolse
  Al suo collegio, e il collegio si strinse;
  Poi come turbo in su tutto s' accolse.[l]
La dolce Donna dietro a lor mi pinse 100
  Con un sol cenno su per quella scala,
  Sì sua virtù la mia natura vinse:
Nè mai quaggiù, dove si monta e cala,
  Naturalmente fu sì ratto moto,
  Ch' agguagliar si potesse alla mia ala.
S' io torni mai, lettore, a quel devoto
  Trionfo, per lo quale io piango spesso
  Le mie peccata, e il petto mi percuoto,

volto è retrorso 3 *Ald. W.* [k] *fu il mar* 23 *Ald. W.*
[l] *s' avvolse Gg.*

94-96 There is some variety of readings, but the sense is clearly, "God has in time past wrought even greater miracles than the reformation of the monastic orders would be." The allusion to Psalm cxiv. is obvious.

into the fire and withdrawn it in such time as I saw the sign which follows the Bull and was within it. O glorious stars, O light impregnate with great virtue, from which I acknowledge all my wit, whatever it be; with you was springing up and with you was hiding himself he who is the father of all mortal life, when I felt for the first time the Tuscan air; and afterward, when grace was bestowed on me to enter the circle on high which whirls you round,

Tu non avresti in tanto tratto e messo
  Nel fuoco il dito, in quanto io vidi il segno 110
  Che segue il Tauro, e fui dentro da esso.
O gloriose stelle, o lume pregno
  Di gran virtù, dal quale io riconosco
  Tutto qual che si sia il mio ingegno:
Con voi nasceva, e s' ascondeva vosco
  Quegli ch' è padre d' ogni mortal vita,
  Quand' io senti' da prima l' aer Tosco:
E poi quando mi fu grazia largita
  D' entrar nell' alta ruota che vi gira,

109 **tratto e messo**: *ὕστερον πρότερον*, as in ii. 23, 24. Possibly in both passages the inversion may be intended to give a notion of extreme rapidity; the actions taking place so quickly that they are, so to speak, ended before they are begun.

111 They ascend to the sphere of the fixed stars, striking it in the sign, or constellation (for Dante probably does not here take account of precession) of the Twins. The sun enters this sign towards May 20, so that Dante's birthday must have been in the month following that date. Philalethes says that learned men, poets, and prophets were under the influence of the Twins.

116 **Quegli**: the Sun. Ar. Metaph. λ. 5: *ἀνθρώπου αἴτιον τά τε στοιχεῖα . . καὶ τὸ ἴδιον εἶδος, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἔξω . . . καὶ παρὰ ταῦτα ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ὁ λοξὸς κύκλος* (the ecliptic, as De Gen. et Corr. ii. 9, quoted above, note to x. 14). Phys. ii. 2 (ad fin.): *ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἄνθρωπον γεννᾷ καὶ ἥλιος.*

your region was allotted to me. To you now devoutly sighs my soul, that she may acquire strength for the difficult pass which is drawing her towards itself.

"Thou art so near to the last salvation," began Beatrice, "that thou needest to have thine eyes clear and sharp. And therefore before thou enterest further into it, look back downwards and see how great a world I have put already under thy feet; so that thy heart, as far as it is able, may present itself joyous before the triumphant band who come blithe through this round aether." With my sight I turned back through all the seven spheres, and saw this

La vostra region mi fu sortita. 120
A voi divotamente ora sospira
L' anima mia, per acquistar virtute
Al passo forte che a sè la tira.
Tu sei sì presso all' ultima salute,
Cominciò Beatrice, che tu dèi
Aver le luci tue chiare ed acute.
E però prima che tu più t' inlei,
Rimira in giù, e vedi quanto mondo
Sotto li piedi già esser ti fei;
Sì che il tuo cuor, quantunque può, giocondo 130
S' appresenti alla turba trionfante,
Che lieta vien per questo etera tondo.[m]
Col viso ritornai per tutte quante[n]
Le sette spere, e vidi questo globo

[m] *questo chera Gg.* [n] *a tutte Gg.*

123 **passo forte**: most commentators take this to mean the concluding part of the poem; but this is rather pedestrian, and Vellutello is probably right in saying, "Intendendo del passo, per loqual ella (sc. l' anima) si debba divider dal corpo." Blanc takes the same view. Cf. Purg. xxxiii. 54.

131 See Canto xxiii.

globe such that I smiled at its mean semblance; and I approve that counsel for best which holds it for least, and whoso thinks on other matters may be called truly righteous. I saw the daughter of Latona illumined without that shadow which was the cause why I once deemed her rare and dense. The aspect of thy son, Hyperion, I there endured, and saw how he moves around, and Maia and Dione near to

Tal, ch' io sorrisi del suo vil sembiante:
E quel consiglio per migliore approbo,
Che l' ha per meno; e chi ad altro pensa,
Chiamar si puote veramente probo.°
Vidi la figlia di Latona incensa
Senza quell' ombra, che mi fu cagione, 140
Perchè già la credetti rara e densa.
L' aspetto del tuo nato, Iperione,
Quivi sostenni, e vidi com' si muove
Circa, e vicino a lui Maia e Dione.ᵖ

° *può veracemente W.; improbo Gg.* ᵖ *vigilia a lui* 145.

137 **altro**: other than things of the earth. There is another reading in the next line, *improbo*. This would require us to understand *altro* to mean "any other theory."

141 See ii. 60. It is not clear why he should have seen the moon on the further side free from its shadowy markings. Probably the simplest explanation, as Philalethes says, is the right one; viz. that Dante was aware that the same face of the moon was always turned to the earth, and that therefore the markings that we see would not be seen on the other side.

142 **nato**: the Sun.

144 **Circa** must not be taken as governing **lui**, for Dante had no notion that Mercury and Venus went round the sun. It may mean "thereabouts." But I am inclined to suspect corruption in this and the preceding line.—**com'** for *come* is very questionable; and though Venus is not uncommonly called Dione (really her mother's name) by Ovid, it is certain that Mercury could not be called Maia. Both in

him. Then appeared to me the tempering of Jove between his father and his son, and then was clear to me the variation which they make of their place; and all seven showed me themselves, of what size they are, and of what speed, and how they are in separate dwelling-places. The little floor which makes us so fierce, as I revolved with the eternal Twins, appeared wholly to me from its hills to its river-mouths; then I turned my eyes back to the beauteous eyes.

Quindi m' apparve il temperar di Giove
  Tra il padre e il figlio; e quindi mi fu chiaro[q]
  Il variar che fanno di lor dove;
E tutti e sette mi si dimostraro
  Quanto son grandi e quanto son veloci,
  E come sono in distante riparo. 150
L' aiuola che ci fa tanto feroci,
  Volgendom' io con gli eterni Gemelli,
  Tutta m' apparve dai colli alle foci:
Poscia rivolsi gli occhi agli occhi belli.

[q] *quivi W.; caro Ald.*(1).

this triplet, and in those which precede and follow, the planets are indicated by the relationships of the deities whose names they bear.

145 "Nam Jupiter temperat frigiditatem Saturni sui patris et caliditatem Martis ejus filii."—Comm. Cass. (Note that *sui* and *ejus* are equivalent.)

151 **aiuola** (*areola*): the inhabited hemisphere, of which Jerusalem is the centre. He is therefore exactly above, or in the meridian of Jerusalem. But the sun is in Aries, two signs (=4 hours) in front. It must therefore be 4 p.m. at Jerusalem; and as we know from Purg. xxxiii. 104 that he entered Paradise at noon of Purgatory = midnight of Jerusalem, it follows that he has taken 16 hours to reach this point.

CANTO XXIII.

ARGUMENT.

As they gaze upwards, Christ appears in glory, surrounded by saints. He presently returns whence He came, and His Mother follows. The saints remain.

As the bird among her beloved leaves, perched at the nest of her sweet offspring through the night which hides things from us, who to behold the forms for which she yearns, and to find the food wherewith to feed them (wherein heavy toils are acceptable to her) prevents the hour upon the open bough, and with ardent love awaits the Sun, gazing fixedly, so only that the dawn arise; thus my Lady was standing erect and intent turned back towards that region

Come l' augello intra l' amate fronde,
  Posato al nido dei suoi dolci nati,
  La notte che le cose ci nasconde,
Che per veder gli aspetti desiati,
  E per trovar lo cibo onde gli pasca,
  In che i gravi labor gli sono aggrati,
Previene il tempo in su l' aperta frasca,
  E con ardente affetto il sole aspetta,
  Fiso guardando, pur che l' alba nasca;[a]
Così la Donna mia si stava eretta, 10

[a] *che laere n.* 145.

beneath which the Sun shows least haste, so that seeing her in suspense and longing, I became such as is he who desiring would wish somewhat more, and appeases himself in hoping. But little was there betwixt the one "when" and the other—of my waiting, I mean, and of seeing the heaven grow more and more in brightening. And Beatrice said: "Lo the squadrons of Christ's triumph, and all the fruit garnered from the revolution of these spheres." It

Ed attenta rivolta inver la plaga,
Sotto la quale il sol mostra men fretta:
Sì che veggendola io sospesa e vaga,
Fecemi quale è quei, che disiando
Altro vorria, e sperando s' appaga.
Ma poco fu tra uno ed altro quando,
Del mio attender dico, e del vedere
Lo ciel venir più e più rischiarando,
E Beatrice disse: Ecco le schiere
Del trionfo di Cristo, e tutto il frutto 20
Ricolto del girar di queste spere.

[11, 12] Beatrice having gazed down towards the earth, has now turned round, and is looking in the opposite direction, i.e. towards that part of the heavens which, as seen from Jerusalem, would be in the meridian, or, rather, in the zenith. There can be little doubt, from a comparison with Purg. xxxiii. 102, 103, that this is meant by the region where the sun moves most slowly (though P. di Dante understands the east); but it is a little curious that Dante should have overlooked the fact that as they were *outside* of the sun there could, strictly speaking, be no *meridian*. It is to be noticed however that in the theology of the time it was held that Christ's second coming would be upon the place whence He had ascended, viz. the Mount of Olives (S. T. Suppl. Q. 88. A. 4), and this is sufficient to fix the meaning.

[16] **quando**; so *perchè*, *dove*, *quia*, etc., used as substantives.

[21] Because by the motions of the spheres the course of the world is governed. See Purg. xx. 12; xxxiii. 41, etc. The "fruit" is of course the saints.

seemed to me that her face was all on fire; and she had her eyes so full of gladness, that needs must I pass by without interpretation. As in the clear skies at the full moon Trivia smiles among the eternal nymphs who illustrate the heaven through all its gulfs, I saw above thousands of lights a Sun which was kindling them every one, as ours does our up-turned countenances; and through the living light appeared the shining Substance so clear that my gaze

Pareami che il suo viso ardesse tutto:
  E gli occhi avea di letizia sì pieni,
  Che passar mi convien senza costrutto.[b]
Quale nei plenilunii sereni[c]
  Trivia ride tra le Ninfe eterne,
  Che dipingono il ciel per tutti i seni,
Vid' io sopra migliaia di lucerne,
  Un Sol che tutte quante l' accendea,
  Come fa il nostro le viste superne: 30
E per la viva luce trasparea
  La lucente sustanzia tanto chiara,

[b] *mel convien W.* [c] *pleni luni et s.* 14; *e ne s.* 23.

[25] It is hardly possible here to doubt that Dante knew, and was imitating, the famous passage, Iliad Θ, 555 sqq.

ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἄστρα φαεινὴν ἀμφὶ Σελήνην
φαίνετ' ἀριπρεπέα, ὅτε τ' ἔπλετο νήνεμος αἰθήρ·
. . . . . .
. . . *οὐρανόθεν δ' ἀρ' ὑπερῤῥάγη ἄσπετος αἰθήρ,*
πάντα δέ τ' εἴδεται ἄστρα.

[26] Longfellow compares Purg. xxxi. 106.

[30] **viste superne**: usually taken as "the things seen on high," sc. the stars, which, in the astronomy of the time, were all supposed to shine by reflected light. I understand *viste* as in xxxii. 99, and Purg. xviii. 3; and *superne* as "raised on high," perhaps confused with *supine*. This seems to give a better image.

[32] **sustanzia**: the glorified body of Christ. Cf. xiv. 52.

endured it not. O Beatrice, gentle guide and dear! She said to me: "That which overcomes thee is virtue from which nought shelters itself. Here is the wisdom and the power which opened the roads between heaven and earth, whereof there was so long desire." As fire is unlocked from a cloud, through being spread out so that there is not space for it, and out of its nature falls down to earth, so my mind amid that banquet grown too large issued from itself, and what it became, skills not to remember.

"Open thine eyes, and see of what sort I am: thou hast beheld things such that thou art grown able to endure

Nel viso mio che non la sostenea.
O Beatrice dolce guida e cara![d]
Ella mi disse: Quel che ti sobranza
È virtù, da cui nulla si ripara.
Quivi è la sapienza e la possanza,
Ch' aprì le strade tra il cielo e la terra,
Onde fu già sì lunga disianza.
Come fuoco di nube si disserra 40
Per dilatarsi, sì che non vi cape,
E fuor di sua natura in giù s' atterra,[e]
Così la mente mia tra quelle dape
Fatta più grande, di sè stessa uscìo,
E che si fesse, rimembrar non sape.
Apri gli occhi, e riguarda qual son io;
Tu hai vedute cose, che possente
Sei fatto a sostener lo riso mio.

[d] *guida mia c. Gg.* [e] *sua matera* 1245.

[42] **fuor di sua natura:** because the nature of fire is to ascend. κατὰ φύσιν δὲ ὅσα τούτοις ὑπάρχει μεθ' αὑτὰ, οἷον τῷ πυρὶ φέρεσθαι ἄνω.—Ar. Phys. ii. 1.

[44] **di sè stessa uscìo:** cf. Purg. viii. 15.

[48] See xxi. 4.

my smile." I was like him who bethinks him again of a forgotten dream, and uses his wit in vain to bring it back to his mind, when I heard this offer, worthy of such acceptance as never may be wiped from the book that notes up the past. If now should sound all those tongues which Polyhymnia with her sisters have made most fat on their sweetest milk, in aid of me, the thousandth part of the truth would not be reached in singing of the holy smile, and how it made the holy countenance clear. And thus in figuring Paradise, needs must the sacred poem leap like him who finds his path cut away. But whoso should weigh the ponderous theme, and the mortal shoulder that is

Io era come quei che si risente
  Di visione obblita, e che s' ingegna 50
  Indarno di ridurlasi alla mente,
Quando io udi' questa profferta, degna
  Di tanto grado, che mai non si stingue
  Del libro che il preterito rassegna.
Se mo sonasser tutte quelle lingue,
  Che Polinnìa con le sue suore fero[f]
  Del latte lor dolcissimo più pingue,
Per aiutarmi, al millesmo del vero
  Non si verrìa, cantando il santo riso,
  E quanto il santo aspetto facea mero. 60
E così figurando il Paradiso
  Convien saltar il sagrato poema,
  Come chi trova suo cammin reciso.[g]
Ma chi pensasse il ponderoso tema,[h]
  E l' omero mortal che se ne carca,

[f] om. *sue Cass.* 1234 *W. Bi.; Le qual Polimnia* 2.
[g] *Com' uom chi tr.* 3. [h] *poderoso W.*

54 Scartazzini quotes the opening words of V.N. : In quella parte del libro della mia memoria.

charged therewith, would not blame it, if beneath that it trembles. No roadstead for a little bark is this that my daring prow goes cleaving, nor for a helmsman who spares himself.

"Wherefore does my face so enamour thee, that thou turnest not round to the fair garden, which under Christ's beams is flowering? Here is the Rose, wherein the Word of God was made flesh; here are the lilies, to whose odour the good road was taken." Thus Beatrice; and I who to her counsels was all prompt, gave myself up again to the

Nol biasmerebbe, se sott' esso trema.
Non è pareggio da picciola barca[i]
Quel che fendendo va l' ardita prora,[k]
Nè da nocchier ch' a sè medesmo parca.
Perchè la faccia mia sì t' innamora, 70
Che tu non ti rivolgi al bel giardino,
Che sotto i raggi di Cristo s' infiora?
Quivi è la rosa, in che il Verbo divino
Carne si fece; quivi son li gigli,
Al cui odor si prese il buon cammino.
Così Beatrice; ed io, ch' ai suoi consigli
Tutto era pronto, ancora mi rendei

[i] *pileggio* 1245 *W.; peleggio Ald.* [k] *che quel f. Gg.*

67 Of the two readings which have any weight of authority, **pareggio** and *pileggio* (or *peleggio*), the former seems to be preferable, if only on the ground that *pileggio*, according to its use by Boccaccio and Fazio degli Uberti, appears to mean only "a journey:" e.g. Dittamondo i. Canto x. 87: Le qual vedrai se farem quel peleggio. It might here be used for *pelago*, but there seems to be no authority for this. It is more likely that the reading arose from a gloss *pelago*. *Pareggio*, Fr. *parage*, is the reading, among others, of Gg. (which has the gloss, *i.e. mare*) and Cass. and is adopted by Bianchi and Giuliani. With this passage compare the opening of Canto ii.

73, 74 **rosa**: the Virgin. **gigli**: the Apostles.

strife with my feeble eyelids. As in a ray of sunlight, coming pure through a broken cloud, ere now my eyes covered with shade have beheld a field of flowers, so saw I many bands of splendours flashed upon from above by burning rays, without seeing a source of flashing. O kindly power that so impressest them, thou didst raise thyself on high, to grant me space there for my eyes, for that they were powerless! The name of the fair flower which I ever call upon both morn and even, bound all my mind to give heed to the greater flame. And as the fashion and greatness of that star, which excels there on high, as it excelled

Alla battaglia dei debili cigli.
Come a raggio di sol, che puro mei
Per fratta nube, già prato di fiori 80
Vider coperti d' ombra gli occhi miei,
Vid' io così più turbe di splendori
Fulgurati di su di raggi ardenti,
Sanza veder principio di fulgori.
O benigna virtù che sì gl' imprenti,
Su t' esaltasti per largirmi loco
Agli occhi lì, che non eran possenti.[1]
Il nome del bel fior ch' io sempre invoco
E mane e sera, tutto mi ristrinse
L' animo ad avvisar lo maggior foco. 90
E, come ambo le luci mi dipinse
Il quale e il quanto della viva stella,

[1] *non t' eran Gg. Cass.* 1245.

85 The idea seems to be that at first the splendour of Christ among the saints prevents him from seeing them; afterwards Christ rises on high, and he is able to see them, illumined by the divine splendour.

88 Is there a suggestion here of Sta. Maria *del Fiore*? Dante would be likely to invoke the patroness of his own cathedral with a remembrance of its name.

here below, made a picture in both my eyes, through the midst of heaven descended a little flame, formed in circle in fashion of a crown, and girt her, and revolved around her. Whatever melody sounds sweetest here below, and most draws the soul to itself would appear as a cloud which being rent thunders, compared to the sound of that lyre, by which was being crowned the fair sapphire, wherewith the brightest heaven is jewelled. "I am angelic love, who revolve about the high gladness that breathes from the womb, which was the shelter of our Desire; and I shall revolve, Lady of heaven, while thou shalt follow thy Son, and make more divine the highest sphere, because thou enterest

Che lassù vince, come quaggiù vinse,
Perentro il cielo scese una facella,
Formata in cerchio a guisa di corona,
E cinsela, e girossi intorno ad ella.
Qualunque melodìa più dolce suona
Quaggiù, ed a sè più l' anima tira
Parrebbe nube, che squarciata tuona,
Comparata al sonar di quella lira, 100
Onde si coronava il bel zaffiro,
Del quale il ciel più chiaro s' inzaffira.
Io sono amore angelico, che giro
L' alta letizia, che spira del ventre
Che fu albergo del nostro disiro:
E girerommi, Donna del ciel, mentre
Che seguirai tuo figlio, e farai dia
Più la spera suprema, perchè gli entre.

94 **facella**: the archangel Gabriel.

101 **zaffiro**: cf. *topazio*, xv. 85; *margherita*, xxii. 29. There may be, as Philalethes thinks, a special propriety in the application of the term to the Virgin, who is pictorially represented in a blue robe.

into it." Thus the circling melody sealed itself, and all the other lights made resound the name of Mary.

The royal mantle of all the rolls of the world, which is most fervent and most quickened in the breath of God and in His ways, had its inner shore above us so distant that its similitude in the place where I was appeared not yet to me. Wherefore my eyes had not potency to follow the crowned flame, which mounted up following her offspring.

Così la circulata melodìa
  Si sigillava, e tutti gli altri lumi 110
  Facean sonar il nome di MARIA.
Lo real manto di tutti i volumi
  Del mondo, che più ferve e più s' avviva[m]
  Nell' alito di Dio e nei costumi,[n]
Avea sovra di noi l' interna riva
  Tanto distante, che la sua parvenza,
  Là dov' io era, ancor non m' appariva:
Però non ebber gli occhi miei potenza
  Di seguitar la coronata fiamma,
  Che si levò appresso a sua semenza. 120

[m] *saliva* 3. [n] *Nell' abito Gg. Ald.; Via nell' atto* 3.

110 **Si sigillava**: i.e. concluded its words.

112 That is, the *primum mobile*, ninth or outermost of the revolving spheres. **volumi** has probably its original meaning of "things rolled," but with a play on the derived meaning, "volumes." So Conv. ii. 4: Questo è il sovrano edificio del Mondo, nel quale tutto il mondo s' inchiude.

113 **più ferve.** So *ferventissimo*, Conv. l.c.

115 Bianchi can hardly be right in taking **interna** to mean the *farther* side of the ninth heaven. Dante surely wishes only to say that the distance between the eighth heaven, in which he is, and the ninth, to which Mary also now ascends, was too great to be traversed by human sight.

And as a child which reaches its arms towards its mother after it has taken her milk, through the mind which is inflamed even outwardly, each of those lustres extended itself upward so that the deep love which they had to Mary was made evident to me. Then they remained there within my view, chanting *Regina caeli* so sweetly that the delight has never departed from me. O how great is the abundance which is sustained in those richest arks, who here on earth were good tilth for sowing! Here is life, and joy of the treasure which was earned by weeping in

E come fantolin, che inver la mamma
  Tende le braccia, poi che il latte prese,
  Per l' animo che in fin di fuor s' infiamma,
Ciascun di quei candori in su si stese
  Con la sua cima, sì che l' alto affetto°
  Ch' egli avieno a Maria, mi fu palese.
Indi rimaser lì nel mio cospetto,
  Regina caeli cantando sì dolce,
  Che mai da me non si partì il diletto.
Oh quanta è l' ubertà, che si soffolce 130
  In quell' arche ricchissime, che fòro
  A seminar quaggiù buone bobolce!
Quivi si vive, e gode del tesoro,
  Che s' acquistò piangendo nell' esilio

° *Con la sua fiamma* 1234 *W.*

121 Cf. Purg. xxx. 44.

128 **Regina caeli** : the Easter Antiphon in the Compline service.

132 **bobolce.** This is usually taken as = Lat. *bubulci*, drivers of oxen, hence ploughmen ; as *bifolco* in ii. 18. The chief objections are the feminine termination, and the fact that *bifolco* seems rather to be the form known to Dante. Also the mixture of metaphors, in any case awkward, is rendered almost intolerable by the change from

the exile of Babylon, where the gold was left behind. Here triumphs, under the high Son of God, and of Mary, for his victory, together with the ancient and with the new council, he who holds the keys of such glory.

Di Babilòn, ove si lasciò l' oro ;[p]
Quivi trionfa sotto l' alto Filio
Di Dio e di Maria, di sua vittoria,
E con l' antico e col nuovo concilio
Colui che tien le chiavi di tal gloria.

[p] *ov' egli Gg. Cass.* 3 ; *lascia* 4 ; *ove li l.* 125.

storehouses to sowers. There appears to be a word *bubulca*, contracted from *bubulcata* = the ploughing of an ox, our "acre" (see Dict. Crusc.); and this on the whole gives the better sense, so I have ventured to adopt it, therein following Scartazzini.

135 Babylon as usual denotes the world. The treasure of Paradise is gained by the rejection of earthly wealth. Those who read *ov' egli lasciò* understand these three lines as well as the next four, of St. Peter ; and, looking to xxii. 88, there is something to be said for this interpretation.

CANTO XXIV.

ARGUMENT.

St. Peter comes forth from the throng of saints, and proceeds to examine Dante concerning the nature and matter of faith; commending him for his answer.

"O COMPANY elect to the great supper of the blessed Lamb, who feeds you so that your wish is ever fulfilled, if through the grace of God this man has a foretaste of that which falls from your table, before that death appoints a time to him, give heed to his boundless desire, and shower upon

O SODALIZIO eletto alla gran cena
Del benedetto Agnello, il qual vi ciba
Sì che la vostra voglia è sempre piena;
Se per grazia di Dio questi prelìba
Di quel, che cade della vostra mensa,
Anzi che morte tempo gli prescriba,
Ponete mente all' affezione immensa,[a]

[a] *alla sua voglia Ald. Bi.*

[1] **Sodalizio**: "quasi simul sedentes ad mensam cum Christo; et sic:

In bello socii, comites in calle feruntur;
Officium collega facit, discusque sodalem."—P. di Dante.

Here again there seems to be an allusion to an Easter hymn, viz. "Ad cenam Agni providi."

him somewhat; ye drink ever of the fount whence comes that which he is meditating." Thus Beatrice; and those joyful souls made themselves spheres upon fixed poles, flaming mightily in fashion of comets. And as circles in the fitting of clocks revolve so that the first, to whoso gives heed, seems at rest, and the last to fly, so those choirs, dancing variously, swift and slow, made me judge them in respect of their riches.

From that one which I marked of most beauty, I saw issue a fire so blissful that none there outstripped it for

E roratelo alquanto: voi bevete
Sempre del fonte, onde vien quel ch' ei pensa.
Così Beatrice; e quelle anime liete 10
Si fero spere sopra fissi poli,
Fiammando forte, a guisa di comete.
E come cerchi in tempra d' oriuoli
Si giran, sì che il primo, a chi pon mente,
Quieto pare, e l' ultimo che voli,
Così quelle carole differente-
mente danzando, della sua ricchezza
Mi si facean stimar veloci e lente.[b]
Di quella, ch' io notai di più bellezza,[c]
Vid' io uscire un fuoco sì felice, 20
Che nullo vi lasciò di più chiarezza;[d]

[b] *mi faceano Gg. Cass.* 1234. [c] *piu chiarezza Gg.* [d] *carezza Gg.*

[13] **oriuoli**: cf. x. 139. Clocks appear to have been still somewhat o a novelty at this time. The Sultan sent one in the form of a globe, worked by weights and wheels, to Frederick II. in 1232. A clock was put up at Westminster in 1288. (Encycl. Brit. s.v. "Clock.")

[17] **ricchezza**: i.e. the degree of glory to which they had attained. The saints who are here present are gathered from all the spheres. See iv. 34–39.

[20] **un fuoco**: St. Peter.

greater brightness; and three times around Beatrice did it turn with a chant so divine that my fancy repeats it not to me; wherefore my pen skips, and I write it not, for our imagination, far more our speech, is too lively a pigment for such draperies.

"O holy sister mine, who prayest us so devoutly, through thy burning affection thou settest me loose from that fair sphere;" halted thereafter, the blessed fire directed toward my Lady its breath, which shaped its words in such wise as I have said. And she: "O eternal light of the

E tre fiate intorno di Beatrice
  Si volse con un canto tanto divo,
  Che la mia fantasia nol mi ridice;
Però salta la penna, e non lo scrivo,
  Chè l' immagine nostro a cotai pieghe,[e]
  Non che il parlare, è troppo color vivo.
O santa suora mia, che sì ne preghe,
  Devota, per lo tuo ardente affetto,
  Da quella bella spera mi disleghe: 30
Poscia fermato il fuoco benedetto,
  Alla mia Donna dirizzò lo spiro,
  Che favellò così com' io ho detto.
Ed ella: O luce eterna del gran viro,

[e] *immaginar Ald. W. Bi.*

25 **salta**: cf. xxiii. 62.

26, 27 A somewhat obscure metaphor. The meaning seems to be that human language is too coarse a medium for the adequate representation of the divine melody. Post. Cass. has, however, to **pieghe**, "i.e. rotationes."

30 **spera** appears to mean the band of blessed spirits who would be clustered like (e.g.) a swarm of bees. Giuliani proposes to read *schiera*, which is tempting, but wholly lacks authority.

great man to whom our Lord left the keys, which He bore below, of this wondrous joy, try this man concerning points easy and hard, as pleases thee, about the Faith, by which thou didst go upon the sea. If he loves aright, and hopes aright, and believes, it is not hidden from thee, seeing that thou hast thy view there where everything is seen depicted. But because this realm has made citizens by the true faith, to its glory, it is good that thou approach him to speak about it."

Even as the bachelor equips him, and speaks not

A cui nostro Signor lasciò le chiavi,
Ch' ei portò giù, di questo gaudio miro,
Tenta costui dei punti lievi e gravi,
Come ti piace, intorno della Fede,
Per la qual tu su per lo mare andavi.
S' egli ama bene, e bene spera, e crede, 40
Non t' è occulto, perchè il viso hai quivi,
Ov' ogni cosa dipinta si vede.
Ma perchè questo regno ha fatto civi
Per la verace fede, a gloriarla,
Di lei parlare è buon ch' a lui arrivi.
Sì come il baccellier s' arma, e non parla

[39] See De Mon. iii. 9, where this is given as an example among others of St. Peter's faith.

[42] Cf. xv. 62; xvii. 39, 43–45.

[45] I have followed Daniello in taking **arrivi** as the second person. Many, however, understand it as impersonal, "that it occur to him:" but though Fr. *arriver* has this meaning commonly—at all events since the seventeenth century—I cannot find any authority for it in early Italian.

[46 sqq.] The allusion is to the practice, surviving in some faculties even to our time, by which the Bachelor, before proceeding to the Doctorate, had to "keep an Act," i.e. maintain a thesis, in the presence of a Master. In the case conceived by Dante, which was probably the

until the master propounds the question, for proof thereof not for determination, so was I arming myself with every argument while she was speaking, to be ready for such a questioner and for such a profession. "Say, good Christian; make thyself manifest; what is Faith?" Wherefore I raised my face toward that light whence this breathed. Then I turned to Beatrice, and she gave me quick looks, that I should spread forth the water of my inward fount. "May the grace which grants me to make my avowal," I began, "to the high captain, cause my conceptions to be

Fin che il maestro la quistion propone,
Per approvarla non per terminarla,
Così m' armava io d' ogni ragione,
Mentre ch' ella dicea, per esser presto 50
A tal querente, e a tal professione.
Di', buon Cristiano; fatti manifesto;
Fede che è? ond' io levai la fronte
In quella luce, onde spirava questo.
Poi mi volsi a Beatrice, ed essa pronte
Sembianze femmi, perchè io spandessi
L' acqua di fuor del mio interno fonte.
La grazia, che mi dà ch' io mi confessi,
Comincia' io, dall' alto primipilo,[f]
Faccia li miei concetti essere espressi:[g] 60

[f] *dall' altro Cass.* 1245 *Ald.* [g] *conc. bene espr. Gg.* 1245.

usual one, the Master propounds the subject. This of course would usually be some well-known proposition, already decided; so that the candidate would only have to show that he was acquainted with the established proof.

57 "Confessio est actus fidei."—S. T. ii. 2. Q. 3. A. 1.

59 **primipilo**: strictly the "centurio primi pili," or centurion of the front rank of the *Triarii* or *Pilani*, the senior centurion in the Legion.

expressed." And I pursued: "As the true pen, father, of thy dear brother has written thereof, who with thee set Rome in the good line, faith is substance of things hoped for and evidence of those which do not appear; and this appears to me its quiddity." Then I heard: "Thou hast a right opinion, if thou well understandest wherefore he placed it among the substances, and then among the

E seguitai: come il verace stilo,
Ne scrisse, padre, del tuo caro frate,
Che mise Roma teco nel buon filo,
Fede è sustanzia di cose sperate,
Ed argomento delle non parventi;
E questa pare a me sua quiditate.[h]
Allora udii: Direttamente senti,
Se bene intendi perchè la ripose[i]
Tra le sustanze, e poi tra gli argomenti.

[h] *questo Cass. W.* [i] *rispose Gg.* 1234; *respuose Cass.*

64 Hebrews xi. 1.

68, 69 This question embodies one of the objections to St. Paul's definition of faith, stated in the article on the subject in S. T. ii. 2. Q. 4. St. Thomas solves the difficulty by saying: Substantia solet dici prima inchoatio cujuscunque rei; et maxime quando res sequens continetur virtute in primo principio. . . . Per hunc ergo modum dicitur fides esse substantia rerum sperandarum: quia scilicet prima inchoatio rerum sperandarum in nobis est per assensum fidei, quae virtute continet omnes res sperandas. Dante's answer is perhaps more neatly expressed, and appears to follow Peter Lombard rather than Aquinas. The words of the former are: Fides dicitur substantia rerum sperandarum quia sperandis substat. He also quotes Augustin: Credere quod est actus fidei naturaliter praecedit sperare, quod est actus spei. As to "argumentum," St. Thomas continues: Sumitur argumentum pro argumenti effectu. Per argumentum enim inducitur intellectus ad inhaerendum alicui vero; unde ipsa firma adhaesio intellectus ad veritatem fidei non apparentem, vocatur hic argumentum.

proofs." And I thereupon: "The deep things which bestow on me here their apparency, to the eyes of the world below are so hidden, that their essence is there in belief only, upon which is founded the high hope, and therefore it takes the purport of a substance; and from this belief it behoves us to syllogise without having other sight, and therefore it has the purport of an argument." Then I heard: "If whatever is acquired below for doctrine was in this wise understood, the sophist's wit would there have no place." So came the breath from that enflamed love; then he subjoined: "Full well has already the alloy and the weight of this money been gone through; but tell me if

Ed io appresso: Le profonde cose, 70
Che mi largiscon qui la lor parvenza,
Agli occhi di laggiù son sì nascose,
Che l' esser loro v' è in sola credenza,
Sovra la qual si fonda l' alta spene;[k]
E però di sustanzia prende intenza:
E da questa credenza ci conviene
Sillogizzar senza avere altra vista;
E però intenza d' argomento tiene.
Allora udii: Se quantunque s' acquista
Giù per dottrina, fosse così inteso, 80
Non gli avria luogo ingegno di sofista:
Così spirò da quell' amore acceso;
Indi soggiunse: Assai bene è trascorsa
D' esta moneta già la lega e il peso:

[k] *si ferma Gg.*

With reference to this it may be noted that the gifts of the Spirit which correspond to the virtue of faith are *scientia* and *intellectus.*

lega e peso: the form and the matter. (Philal.)

thou hast it in thy purse." And I: "Yes, I have it so bright and so round, that of its coinage nought makes doubt in me." Thereupon issued from the depth of the light that there was shining: "This precious jewel whereon every virtue is founded, whence came it to thee?" And I: "The plenteous rain of the Holy Spirit, which is shed abroad upon the old and the new scrolls, is a syllogism which has concluded it for me so sharply that in respect of

Ma dimmi se tu l' hai nella tua borsa.
Ed io: Si, ho sì lucida e sì tonda,[1]
Che nel suo conio nulla mi s' inforsa.
Appresso uscì della luce profonda,
Che lì splendeva: Questa cara gioia,
Sovra la quale ogni virtù si fonda, 90
Onde ti venne? ed io: La larga ploia
Dello Spirito Santo, ch' è diffusa
In su le vecchie e in su le nuove cuoia,
È sillogismo, che la mi ha conchiusa
Acutamente, sì che in verso d' ella

[1] *onde uscio* 2; *si l' ho Bi.*

90 S. T. ii. 2. Q. 4. A. 7: Per se quidem inter omnes virtutes prima est fides. Cum enim in agibilibus, finis sit principium (this is after Ar. Phys. ii. 7: *τὸ μὲν γὰρ τί ἐστι καὶ τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα ἐστι, τὸ δ' ὅθεν ἡ κίνησις πρῶτον τῷ εἶδει ταὐτὸ τούτοις*)—necesse est virtutes theologicas quarum objectum est ultimus finis esse priores ceteris virtutibus. Ipse autem ultimus finis oportet quod prius sit in intellectu quam in voluntate . . . Unde cum ultimus finis sit quidem in voluntate per spem et charitatem, in intellectu autem per fidem, necesse est quod fides sit prima inter omnes virtutes.

93 **cuoia**: lit. "skins," "parchments."

94 **sillogismo.** The fact that a certain doctrine is contained in Scripture forms the minor premiss of a syllogism to which faith stands as the major; and from this we conclude to the truth of the doctrine. (Philal.) See l. 77. The argument here seems to run somewhat in a circle.

that every demonstration seems to me obtuse." I heard then: "The old and the new proposition which has this conclusion for thee, wherefore holdest thou it for the word of God?" And I: "The proof that discloses the truth to me are the works which followed, for which nature never heated iron nor beat anvil." It was answered to me: "Say, what assures thee that these works were? That same one that would prove itself, and none other, swears it to thee." "If the world turned to Christianity," said I, "without miracles, this only is such, that the others are not the hundredth part; for thou didst enter poor and fasting into the field to sow the good plant, which was once a vine, and now is grown a bramble."

Ogni dimostrazion mi pare ottusa.
Io udii poi: L' antica e la novella
Proposizione, che sì ti conchiude,
Perchè l' hai tu per divina favella?
Ed io: La pruova che il ver mi dischiude, 100
Son l' opere seguite, a che natura
Non scaldò ferro mai, nè battè ancude.
Risposto fummi: Di', chi t' assicura
Che quell' opere fosser? quel medesmo
Che vuol provarsi, non altri, il ti giura.[m]
Se il mondo si rivolse al Cristianesmo,
Diss' io, senza miracoli, quest' uno
È tal, che gli altri non sono il centesmo:
Che tu entrasti povero e digiuno
In campo a seminar la buona pianta, 110
Che fu già vite, ed ora è fatta pruno.

[m] *nè altri Gg.*

101, 102 I.e. the miracles; of which the conversion of the world to Christianity (106–108) was the greatest. This argument is as old as St. Augustine: hoc nobis unum grande miraculum sufficit, quod eis terrarum orbis sine miraculis credidit.

This ended, the holy Court on high resounded through the spheres a "Praise we God," in the melody which up there is chanted. And that lord who so from branch to branch had already drawn me in examination that we were drawing near to the last leaves, recommenced: "The grace which is mistress with thy mind has opened thy mouth thus far as it ought to open; so that I approve that which has come forth. But now it is meet to express what thou believest, and whence it has been offered to thy belief." "O holy father, O spirit who seest that which thou so believedst, that thou didst outdo younger feet toward the sepulchre," I

Finito questo, l' alta Corte santa
  Risonò per le spere un *Dio laudamo*,
  Nella melode che lassù si canta.
E quel baron, che sì di ramo in ramo
  Esaminando già tratto m' avea,
  Che all' ultime fronde appressavamo,
Ricominciò: La grazia, che donnea
  Con la tua mente, la bocca t' aperse
  Insino a qui, com' aprir si dovea; 120
Sì ch' io approvo ciò che fuori emerse:
  Ma or conviene esprimer quel che credi,
  Ed onde alla credenza tua s' offerse.
O santo padre, o spirito, che vedi
  Ciò che credesti, sì che tu vincesti
  Ver lo sepolcro più giovani piedi,

125, 126 Not strictly correct, for "the other disciple did outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulchre." But probably Dante refers to the fact of St. Peter having been the first actually to enter. See again De Mon. iii. 9: Dicit etiam Johannes, ipsum (sc. Petrum) introivisse subito, cum venit in monumentum, videns alium Discipulum cunctantem ad ostium.

began, "thou wilt that I declare here the form of my ready believing, and also the cause of it hast thou inquired. And I reply: I believe in one God sole and eternal, who unmoved moves all the heaven, with love and with desire; and for such creed I have not only proofs physical and metaphysical, but the truth gives it also to me, which showers from hence through Moses, through prophets and through psalms, through the Gospel, and through you who wrote since the fire of the Spirit made you fertile thereto; and I believe in three eternal Persons, and these I believe an essence so one and so threefold that in conjunction it admits of *sunt* and *est.* With the profound

Comincia' io: tu vuoi ch' io manifesti
La forma qui del pronto creder mio,
Ed anche la cagion di lui chiedesti.
Ed io rispondo: Io credo in uno Dio 130
Solo ed eterno, che tutto il ciel muove
Non moto, con amore e con disio:
Ed a tal creder non ho io pur pruove
Fisice e metafisice, ma dalmi
Anche la verità che quinci piove,
Per Moisè, per profeti, e per salmi,
Per l' evangelio, e per voi che scriveste,
Poichè l' ardente spirto vi fece almi.
E credo in tre persone eterne, e queste
Credo una essenza sì una e sì trina, 140
Che soffera congiunto *sunt et este.*[n]

[n] *soffero a c. Gg.; soffrara congiunte* 2; *congiunta Cass.; sono Gg. Cass.* 1234 *W.*

131, 132 Cf. again Metaph. λ. 7: ἔστι τι ὃ οὐ κινούμενον κινεῖ, κ.τ.λ.

134 **Fisice e metafisice**: no doubt with allusion to the works of Aristotle so called.

141 **este**: *metri gratia* for *est.* In spite of the great MS. authority

condition of Deity which I now touch, the teaching of the Gospel oftentimes stamps my mind. This is the beginning, this is the spark which broadens into a flame afterward lively, and as a star in heaven, sparkles in me."

As the master who listens to that which pleases him, thereafter embraces his servant, rejoicing for the news, as soon as he is silent, thus blessing me in his chant, thrice girt me, as I held my peace, the apostolic light at whose command I had spoken; so in my speaking pleased I him.

Della profonda condizion divina,
  Ch' io tocco mo, la mente mi sigilla[o]
  Più volte l' evangelica dottrina.
Quest' è il principio; quest' è la favilla,
  Che si dilata in fiamma poi vivace,[p]
  E come stella in cielo in me scintilla.
Come il signor, ch' ascolta quel che piace,
  Da indi abbraccia il servo, gratulando
  Per la novella, tosto ch' ei si tace; 150
Così benedicendomi cantando,
  Tre volte cinse me, sì com' io tacqui,
  L' apostolico lume, al cui comando
Io avea detto; sì nel dir gli piacqui.

[o] *tocco, nella mente* 13 *Ald. W.* [p] *piu viv. Gg.* 124.

for *sono*, **sunt** must, I think, be right. The Athanasian Creed, it may be noticed, avoids the use of *sunt*.

144 **Più volte**: i.e. "in sundry places."

CANTO XXV.

ARGUMENT.

St. James puts certain questions concerning hope. Afterwards St. John joins them, in a light so shining that Dante is thereby deprived for a while of sight.

If ever it befall that the sacred poem to which both heaven and earth have set a hand, so that it has made me lean for many years, overcome the cruelty which locks me out of the fair fold where as a lamb I slumbered, an enemy to the wolves who give it war; with other fame thenceforth, with

Se mai continga che il poema sacro,
  Al quale ha posto mano e cielo e terra,
  Sì che m' ha fatto per più anni macro,[a]
Vinca la crudeltà, che fuor mi serra
  Del bello ovile, ov' io dormii agnello
  Nimico ai lupi che gli danno guerra;
Con altra voce omai, con altro vello

[a] *per molti a. Gg.* 124.

[2] **cielo e terra.** The force of this expression may be understood from a comparison with De Mon. ii. 1: Veritas autem quaestionis patere potest non solum lumine rationis humanae, sed et radio divinae authoritatis. Quae duo cum simul ad unum concurrunt, coelum et terram simul assentire necesse est.

[6] **lupi**: cf. Purg. xiv. 50.

[7] It seems best to take **voce** as in xviii. 32. Cf. Purg. xi. 103 (v. l.), and xxvi. 121. It may however mean "with a voice other than

other fleece I shall return a poet, and over the font of my baptism shall take the chaplet; since into the Faith which trains the souls to God, I there entered, and afterward Peter for its sake so circled my brow.

Then a light set out towards us from that troop when issued the first-fruit which Christ left of His vicars. And my Lady full of gladness said to me: "Look, look! lo the chief for whose sake on earth they visit Gallicia." As when the pigeon settles near its companion, the one, turning and

Ritornerò poeta, ed in sul fonte
Del mio battesmo prenderò il cappello:
Però chè nella fede, che fa conte 10
L' anime a Dio, quiv' entra' io, e poi
Pietro per lei sì mi girò la fronte.
Indi si mosse un lume verso noi
Di quella schiera, ond' uscì la primizia[b]
Che lasciò Cristo dei vicari suoi.
E la mia Donna piena di letizia
Mi disse: Mira, mira; ecco il barone,
Per cui laggiù si visita Galizia.
Sì come quando il colombo si pone
Presso al compagno, l' uno all' altro pande,[c] 20

[b] *spera Gg.* 124 *W.*
[c] *e l' uno W.; l' uno e l' altro Gg.* 1234 *Ald.; e l' uno e l' altro Cass.*

that with which I sang in my younger days:" i.e. as the poet of faith, no longer of earthly love.

9 **cappello**: probably the poet's crown of laurel.

13 **lume**: St. James.

17 **barone**: cf. xxiv. 115.

18 **Galizia**: the Spanish province in which is the shrine of Compostella, where St. James is said to have been buried. See V.N. § 41.

20 No one who has watched the ways of pigeons can doubt the reading here. It is only the male bird who "gira e mormora." The masculine **altro** follows the gender of **compagno.**

cooing, displays to the other its affection; so saw I the one great prince of glory received by the other, praising the food whereon they feast on high. But after that their greeting was discharged, silent *coram me* each one fixed himself, so on fire that it overcame my countenance. Smiling then Beatrice said: "Renowned life, through whom the largess of our palace was written, make Hope to resound on this height; thou knowest that thou dost figure it so many

Girando e mormorando, l' affezione;
Così vid' io l' un dall' altro grande
Principe glorioso essere accolto,
Laudando il cibo, che lassù si prande.
Ma poi che il gratular si fu assolto,
Tacito, *coram me*, ciascun s' affisse,
Ignito sì, che vinceva il mio volto.
Ridendo allora Beatrice disse:
Inclita vita, per cui la larghezza[d]
Della nostra basilica si scrisse, 30
Fa risonar la speme in questa altezza;
Tu sai che tante volte la figuri,[e]

[d] *l' allegrezza* 12345 *W.* [e] *tante fiate Gg. Cass.* 134.

29 The allusion seems to be to St. James i. 5. Others (e.g. Witte) reading *allegrezza*, understand it as referring to i. 2. It may be noticed that Dante appears to confuse the two Apostles of the name: for the Epistle is ascribed to St. James "the Less;" while the patron of Spain, and the one who appears on special occasions joined with St. Peter and St. John, is St. James "the Greater."

30 **basilica**: heaven; so **aula** in l. 42.

31 There appears to be no reason for connecting St. James specially with the virtue of Hope; beyond the fact that Faith has already been assigned to St. Peter, while Love must of course be reserved for St. John. The association seems to be found in early mystical theology.

times as Jesus granted more clearness to the three." "Lift thy head, and see that thou assure thyself; for that which comes up hither from your world, must needs be ripened at our rays." This comfort came to me from the second flame; wherefore I lifted my eyes to the hills, which before bowed them down with excess of weight. "Since through grace our Emperor wills that thou show thy face before thy death, in His most secret hall, with His Counts, so that the truth of this Court having been seen, the Hope that on earth causes to love aright, thou mayest confirm in thyself and in

Quante Gesù ai tre fe più chiarezza.[f]
Leva la testa, e fa che t' assicuri;
Chè ciò, che vien quassù dal mortal mondo,
Convien ch' ai nostri raggi si maturi.
Questo conforto del fuoco secondo[g]
Mi venne, ond' io levai gli occhi ai monti,
Che gl' incurvaron pria col troppo pondo.
Poichè per grazia vuol che tu t' affronti 40
Lo nostro Imperadore, anzi la morte,
Nell' aula più segreta, coi suoi conti,[h]
Sì che veduto il ver di questa corte,
La speme, che laggiù bene innamora,
In te ed in altrui di ciò conforte:

[f] *Quanto Gg. Cass.* 23 *Ald. W.; carezza Gg.* 124.
[g] *nel f. Gg.; dal W.* [h] *da suoi* 1245.

38 Psalm cxxi. 1. "Montes" is interpreted as denoting the Apostles, by comparison with Psalm lxxxvii. 1.

41, 42 Christ being the Emperor, the Apostles are fitly spoken of as Counts and Barons.

45, 46 The questions correspond with those in ll. 53, 85, 91, of the last Canto. Beatrice answers the second for him, leaving him to reply to the first and third.

others; say what it is, and how thy mind blossoms therewith, and say whence it came to thee:" thus further pursued the second light. And that kindly one, who guided the feathers of my wings to so lofty a flight, thus prevented me in the reply: "The Church militant has not any son with more hope, as is written in the Sun who beams on all our host; wherefore to him it is permitted that from Egypt to Jerusalem he come to behold, before his term of service be prescribed for him. The other two points, which are not demanded for the sake of knowledge, but that he may report how much thou hast this virtue in delight, I leave to him, for they will not be hard to him, nor ground of boast-

Di' quel che ell' è, e come se ne infiora
La mente tua, e di' onde a te venne:
Così seguì il secondo lume ancora.
E quella pia, che guidò le penne
Delle mie ali a così alto volo, 50
Alla risposta così mi prevenne:
La Chiesa militante alcun figliuolo
Non ha con più speranza, com' è scritto
Nel Sol che raggia tutto nostro stuolo:
Però gli è conceduto, che d' Egitto
Vegna in Gerusalemme per vedere,
Anzi che il militar gli sia prescritto.
Gli altri due punti, che non per sapere
Son dimandati, ma perch' ei rapporti
Quanto questa virtù t' è in piacere, 60
A lui lasc' io; chè non gli saran forti,[i]

[i] *A lui li lascio Gg.; il lascio Cass.; la l.* 1245.

50 Cf. Plato Phaedrus 246 D: Πέφυκεν ἡ πτεροῦ δύναμις τὸ ἐμβριθὲς ἄγειν ἄνω μετεωρίζουσα, ᾗ τὸ τῶν θεῶν γένος οἰκεῖ.

58 **non per sapere**: cf. "non per terminarla," xxiv. 48.

ing; and let him answer to this; and may the grace of God bear with him in this."

As a learner, who follows a teacher readily and willingly in that wherein he is expert, so that his excellence may be discovered, "Hope," said I, "is a sure expectation of the glory that shall be, which grace divine produces and foregoing merit. From many stars comes this light to me; but he first distilled it into my heart, who was the supreme singer of the supreme Leader. 'Let them hope in Thee,' he says in his Theody, 'who know Thy name;' and who

Nè di jattanzia; ed elli a ciò risponda,
E la grazia di Dio ciò gli comporti.
Come discente, ch' a dottor seconda
Pronto e libente in quel ch' egli è esperto,
Perchè la sua bontà si disasconda;
Speme, diss' io, è uno attender certo
Della gloria futura, che produce
Grazia divina e precedente merto.
Da molte stelle mi vien questa luce; 70
Ma quei la distillò nel mio cor pria,
Che fu sommo cantor del sommo duce.
Sperino in te, nella sua Teodìa[k]

[k] *Sperent W.; nella tua* 1234 *Ald.; nell' alta Bi. Giul.*

62 **di jattanzia**; as his possession of the virtue might be.

67-69 Here again Dante follows Peter Lombard. His words are: "Est enim spes certa expectatio futurae beatitudinis veniens ex Dei gratia et meritis praecedentibus."—Sent. iii. 26. See also note to xxix. 63.

73 Psalm ix. 11, where the Vulgate has: "Sperent in te qui noverunt nomen tuum." The word **Teodia** seems to have puzzled the early commentators. Thus P. di Dante has: "Et tu, Jacobe, in tuis Epistolis et Theodia, ita dicta a *theos* quod est *Deus*, et *dia* quod est *duo*, quasi verba formata a Deo et prolata ab homine" (!) From some blunder of this kind no doubt sprang the reading *nella tua*, and this was corrected into *nell' alta*, which modern editors have adopted without authority.

knows it not, if he has my faith? Thou didst instil it into me with his instilling in the Epistle thereafter, so that I am full of it, and shed in turn your rain upon other." While I was speaking, within the living bosom of that blaze quivered a flash sudden and close, in fashion of lightning. Then came the breath: "The love wherewith I glow yet towards the virtue which followed me even to the palm, and to my issue from the field, wills that I breathe again to thee who makest thy delight of it; and it is for my pleasure that thou tell that which thy hope promises thee." And I: "The

Dice, color che sanno il nome tuo:
E chi nol sa, s' egli ha la fede mia?
Tu mi stillasti con lo stillar suo,
Nella pistola poi, sì ch' io son pieno,
Ed in altrui vostra pioggia ripluo.
Mentr' io diceva, dentro al vivo seno
Di quello incendio tremolava un lampo 80
Subito e spesso, a guisa di baleno:
Indi spirò: L' amore, ond' io avvampo
Ancor ver la virtù, che mi seguette
Infin la palma, ed all' uscir del campo,
Vuol ch' io respiri a te, che ti dilette
Di lei; ed emmi a grato, che tu diche
Quello che la speranza ti promette.

[75] Thus faith is the ground of hope; xxiv. 90. S. T. ii. 2. Q. 17. A. 7: Fides absolute praecedit spem . . . In diffinitione fidei (Heb. xi. 1) proponitur res speranda, quia proprium objectum fidei non est apparens secundum seipsum. Unde fuit necessarium ut quadam circumlocutione designaretur per id quod sequitur ad fidem.

[77] The passage in St. James's Epistle specially alluded to (if any) would seem to be v. 7.

[81] **spesso** seems to mean "dense," "compact;" not as some take it, "frequent," a meaning in which, except adverbially, Dante does not use the word.

new and the old Scriptures set the mark, and this points it out to me, of the souls which God has made friends to Him. Isaiah says that each one shall be clad in its own land with a twofold raiment; and its own land is this sweet life. And thy brother with far more of ripeness, in that place where he treats of the white robes, makes manifest this revelation to us."

And first, hard upon the end of these words *Sperent in*

Ed io: Le nuove e le scritture antiche
Pongono il segno, ed esso lo m' addita,
Dell' anime, che Dio s' ha fatte amiche. 90
Dice Isaìa, che ciascùna vestita
Nella sua terra fia di doppia vesta,
E la sua terra è questa dolce vita.
E il tuo fratello assai vie più digesta,
Là dove tratta delle bianche stole,
Questa rivelazion ci manifesta.
E prima, presso il fin d' este parole,

[88] So xxiv. 93.

[89] Others, taking **segno** as = "aim," read *ed esso: Lo m' addita;* understanding the words as a parenthesis, indicating a remark interjected by St. James. But this makes the structure of the passage unnecessarily disjointed, besides that it is not in Dante's manner. The meaning would seem to be: "Scripture tells me the mark by which the souls pleasing to God will be known, and the promises of Hope point it out to me": **esso** referring to **quello**, and **lo** to **segno.** He then goes on to state in the words of the Old and the New Testament what the object of his hope is, viz. everlasting blessedness. Another reading, which Bianchi adopts, puts a full stop at **addita**, and a comma at **amiche**; "Isaiah says of the souls," etc.

[91] The allusion is to Isaiah lxi. 7: propter hoc in sua terra duplicia possidebunt; the idea of raiment being taken from v. 10: quia induit me vestimentis salutis.

[94] **fratello**: St. John, in Rev. vii. 9.

[97] Cf. xxiv. 112.

te was heard above us, to which all the choirs responded; then among them a light brightened, so that if the Crab possessed such a gem the winter would have one month of a single day. And as a joyous maiden rises and goes and enters a dance only to do honour to the new bride and not for any fault, so saw I the glory that had shone forth come to the two who were turning in such a wheel as beseemed their burning love. It put itself there into the chant and into the music, and my Lady held her gaze on them, just like a bride silent and unmoved. "This is he who lay

Sperent in te, disopra noi s' udì,[l]
A che risposer tutte le carole:
Poscia tra esse un lume si schiarì, 100
Sì che, se il Cancro avesse un tal cristallo,
L' inverno avrebbe un mese d' un sol dì.
E come surge, e va, ed entra in ballo
Vergine lieta, sol per fare onore
Alla novizia, e non per alcun fallo,
Così vid' io lo schiarato splendore
Venire ai due, che si volgeano a rota,
Qual conveniasi al loro ardente amore.
Misesi lì nel canto e nella nota;
E la mia Donna in lor tenea l' aspetto,[m] 110
Pur come sposa tacita ed immota.
Questi è colui, che giacque sopra il petto

[l] *in te Domine sopra Gg.* [m] *tenne Cass.* 1234 *Ald. W. Bi.*

98 See note to xxvi. 69.

100 **lume**: that of St. John the Divine.

101 During the middle month of the winter, when the sun is in Capricorn, Cancer, being exactly opposite to it, is up throughout the night. The meaning of course is that the spirit of St. John shone with a brightness equal to the sun.

105 **per alcun fallo**: i.e. from vanity or wantonness.

upon the breast of our Pelican, and this one was from upon the cross chosen to the great office." Thus my Lady; nor for all that did her words move her sight from staying intent afterwards more than before. As he is who looks and prepares himself to see the sun eclipsed a little, that through seeing he becomes sightless, so I grew at this latest fire, until it was said to me: "Why dost thou dazzle thyself to behold a thing which here has no place? On earth, earth is my body, and it will be there with the others so long as our number is being made equal with the eternal

Del nostro Pellicano; e questi fue
D' in su la croce al grande uficio eletto.
La Donna mia così, nè però piue
Mosser la vista sua di stare attenta,
Poscia che prima le parole sue.
Quale è colui, che adocchia e s' argomenta
Di veder eclissar lo Sole un poco,
Che per veder non vedente diventa, 120
Tal mi fec' io a quell' ultimo fuoco,
Mentrechè detto fu: Perchè t' abbagli
Per veder cosa, che qui non ha loco?
In terra è terra il mio corpo, e saragli
Tanto con gli altri, che il numero nostro
Con l' eterno proposito s' agguagli.

113 **Pellicano.** The pelican, fabled to feed its young with its own blood, was a favourite emblem of Christ. Thus in the well-known Eucharistic hymn of St. Thomas, "Adoro te devote," we find the expression, "Pie Pelicane, Jesu Domine."

114 **al grande uficio**: the care of the Mother of the Lord.

121 Dante gazes at St. John in the expectation of seeing his earthly body, misled, like the early Christians, by the words of John xxi. 22. Aquinas, S. T. Suppl. Q. 77. A. 1, does not wholly reject this "pious belief."

purpose. With the two garments in the blessed cloister are the two lights only who went up: and this thou shalt report to your world." At this voice the flaming circle was still, together with the sweet blending which was made of the sound of the threefold breath; just as through the ceasing of toil or risk the oars, till then beaten again and again in the water, all pause at the sound of a whistle. Ah! how was I moved in my mind, when I turned to see Beatrice, through being unable to see her, albeit I was near to her, and in the world of bliss!

Con le due stole nel beato chiostro
  Son le due luci sole, che salìro:
  E questo apporterai nel mondo vostro.
A questa voce l' infiammato girò 130
  Si quietò, con esso il dolce mischio,
  Che si facea del suon nel trino spiro;
Sì come per cessar fatica o rischio,
  Gli remi pria nell' acqua ripercossi,
  Tutti si posano al sonar d' un fischio.
Ahi quanto nella mente mi commossi,
  Quando mi volsi per veder Beatrice,
  Per non poter vedere, ben ch' io fossi[n]
Presso di lei, e nel mondo felice!

[n] *vederla Ald. Bi.; ben veder ch' io Cass.* 3.

127 **due stole**: the earthly and the heavenly bodies.

128 **luci**: Christ and the Virgin. It is somewhat curious, as Scartazzini notes, that Dante should have ignored Enoch and Elijah.

133 Imitated from Stat. Theb. vi. 799 sqq.:

Sic ubi longa vagos lassarunt aequora nautas,
Et signo de puppe dato posuere parumper
Bracchia.

CANTO XXVI.

ARGUMENT.

St. John examines Dante concerning love, and especially love towards God. Afterwards Adam comes, and resolves certain doubts respecting the first state of man.

WHILE I was doubting by reason of my quenched vision, from the effulgent flame that quenched it issued a breath which made me attentive, saying: "Whiles thou art regaining sense of the sight which thou hast consumed upon me, it is well that thou make up for it in converse. Begin then, and say where thy soul is centred, and reckon that the sight in thee is bewildered and not defunct; because the Lady,

MENTR' io dubbiava per lo viso spento,
Della fulgida fiamma che lo spense,
Uscì un spiro che mi fece attento,[a]
Dicendo: In tanto che tu ti risense
Della vista, che hai in me consunta,
Ben' è che ragionando la compense.
Comincia dunque, e di' ove s' appunta
L' anima tua, e fa ragion che sia
La vista in te smarrita e non defunta;

[a] *Giunse un spirito Gg.*

5 **hai consunta:** like *avea conquiso* in Purg. xxiii. 45.
7 **s' appunta:** cf. Purg. xv. 49.

who is guiding thee through this bright region, has in her glance the virtue which the hand of Ananias had." I said: "At her pleasure, either soon or late, let healing come to the eyes which were doors when she entered with the fire wherewith I ever burn. The Good which makes content this Court is Alpha and Omega of whatever scripture reads Love to me either gently or in strength." That same voice which had taken away from me fear of the sudden dazzling, set me yet further in desire of talking, and said: "Surely with a closer sieve behoves it thee to make clear; it behoves thee to say who directed thy bow to such a mark."

Perchè la Donna, che per questa dia 10
  Regione ti conduce, ha nello sguardo
  La virtù ch' ebbe la man d' Ananìa.
Io dissi: Al suo piacere e tosto e tardo
  Vegna remedio agli occhi che fur porte,
  Quand' ella entrò col fuoco ond' io sempr' ardo.
Lo ben che fa contenta questa Corte,
  Alfa ed Omega è di quanta scrittura
  Mi legge amore o lievemente o forte.
Quella medesma voce, che paura[b]
  Tolta m' avea del subito abbarbaglio, 20
  Di ragionare ancor mi mise in cura:
E disse: Certo a più angusto vaglio
  Ti conviene schiarar; dicer convienti,
  Chi drizzò l' arco tuo a tal berzaglio.[c]

[b] *medesma luce onde Gg.* [c] *l' occhio — parzaglio Gg.*

[12] Acts ix.

[18] **lievemente o forte:** "light or loud," says Philalethes, interpreting "through reason or revelation;" see ll. 25, 26. I have followed Daniello in understanding **amore** as the object of **legge**, which here must have almost the meaning of "teaches."

And I: "Through arguments of philosophy, and through authority which descends hence, must such love on me needs be stamped; for the good, in so far as it is good, as it is understood, so kindles love, and so much greater in proportion as it comprehends in itself more of goodness. Therefore to the Being, wherein is so great pre-eminence that every good which is found outside of It is nought else

Ed io: Per filosofici argomenti,
E per autorità, che quinci scende,
Cotale amor convien che in me s' imprenti:
Chè il bene, in quanto ben, come s' intende,
Così accende amore, e tanto maggio
Quanto più di bontade in sè comprende. 30
Dunque all' essenza, ov' è tanto avvantaggio,
Che ciascun ben che fuor di lei si truova

25 sqq. It will be observed that the form of the questions is different in the present case from what it has been in regard to the two first virtues. With each of these the catechism took this form: What is it? Do you possess it? Whence did you obtain it? But since Love is, on Dante's theory of morals, the basis of all conduct, it is clear that the form of interrogation must be modified. Love is self-evident, and so incapable of definition; universal, so that there can be no question of his possessing it. The questions which St. John asks are therefore: What is the ultimate object of Love? How did you ascertain what it was? (I put the points, for clearness' sake, in the baldest form.) Dante replies: God is the beginning and end of whatsoever teaches me to love; and I have learnt this both from revelation (l. 26) and from philosophy. For good, *quâ* good, causes desire as soon as it is apprehended (S.T. ii. 1. Q. 27. A. 2: bonum cum non nisi apprehensum sit objectum et causa appetitivi motus, necesse est apprehensionem et cognitionem causam amoris in unoquoque esse), and in proportion to its goodness. But all goodness is derived from God (S. T. i. Q. 6. A. 3: Cum Deus solus absolutum perfectionem habeat, cujus esse est sua essentia . . . . ipse solus per essentiam bonus est; and A. 4: unumquodque dicitur bonum bonitate divina, sicut primo principio exemplari); and therefore God is the prime object of love—as before, *τἀγαθὸν οὗ πάντ' ἐφίεται.*

than a light from Its beam, more than towards any other, must needs be proved in loving the mind of each one who discerns the truth whereon this proof is founded. Such truth to my intellect he lays down who demonstrates to me the first love of all the eternal substances. The voice of the true Author lays it down, who says to Moses, speaking of Himself: I will make thee to see all goodness. Thou layest it down to me further, beginning the high heralding,

Altro non è ch' un lume di suo raggio,[d]
Più che in altra conviene, che si muova
La mente, amando, di ciascun che cerne
Lo vero, in che si fonda questa pruova.
Tal vero allo intelletto mio sterne
Colui, che mi dimostra il primo amore
Di tutte le sustanze sempiterne.
Sternel la voce del verace autore, 40
Che dice a Moisè, di sè parlando:
Io ti farò vedere ogni valore.
Sternilmi tu ancora, incominciando

[d] *che luce Gg.; che di suo lume un raggi Ald. Bi.*

38 **Colui.** There is some difference of opinion as to who is meant; but we can hardly doubt that the allusion is to Aristotle. See Metaph. λ. 8: *ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ κινούμενον ἀνάγκη ὑπό τινος κινεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον κινοῦν ἀκίνητον εἶναι καθ' αὑτό,* [*κινεῖ δὲ ὡς ἐρώμενον.* Chap. vii.] *καὶ τὴν ἀίδιον κίνησιν ὑπὸ ἀϊδίου κινεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν μίαν ὑφ' ἑνός, ὁρῶμεν δὲ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς τὴν ἁπλῆν φοράν, ἣν κινεῖν φαμὲν τὴν πρώτην οὐσίαν καὶ ἀκίνητον, ἄλλας φορὰς οὔσας τὰς τῶν πλανήτων ἀϊδίους, ἀνάγκη καὶ τούτων ἑκάστην τῶν φορῶν ὑπ ἀκινήτου τε κινεῖσθαι καθ' αὑτὸ καὶ ἀϊδίου οὐσίας· ἥ τε γὰρ τῶν ἄστρων φύσις ἀίδιος οὐσία τις οὖσα, καὶ τὸ κινοῦν ἀίδιον καὶ πρότερον τοῦ κινουμένου καὶ τὸ πρότερον οὐσίας οὐσίαν ἀνάγκη εἶναι.* See xxiv. 131.

42 Exodus xxxiii. 18.

43-45 We can hardly be wrong in understanding the reference to be to 1 John iv.; though some suppose the opening of the Gospel to be

which cries on earth the secret of this place above all other proclamation."

And I heard: "By reason of human intellect, and of authority concordant to it, of thy loves keep the sovereign towards God. But say farther if thou feel other cords draw thee towards Him, so that thou utter with how many teeth this love bites thee." The holy intention of Christ's eagle was not in concealment, rather I was aware whither he would lead my profession. Wherefore I recommenced: "All those bites, which can make the heart turn to God, have concurred in my charity; for the existence of the

L' alto preconio, che grida l' arcano
Di qui laggiù, sovra ad ogni altro bando.
Ed io udii: Per intelletto umano,
E per autoritade a lui concorde,
Dei tuoi amori a Dio guarda il sovrano.
Ma di' ancor se tu senti altre corde
Tirarti verso lui, sì che tu suone 50
Con quanti denti questo amor ti morde.
Non fu latente la santa intenzione
Dell' aguglia di Cristo, anzi m' accorsi,
Ove menar volea mia professione;
Però ricominciai: Tutti quei morsi,
Che posson far lo cor volgere a Dio,
Alla mia caritate son concorsi:
Chè l' essere del mondo, e l' esser mio,

indicated, others (misled probably by l. 17) the Apocalypse. But in neither of these is anything said about love, the subject at present under consideration.

58-60 i.e. creation, redemption, sanctification. The passage of Aquinas which Philalethes and Scartazzini quote (S. T. ii. 2. Q. 27. A. 3: Utrum Deus sit propter se ipsum ex charitate diligendus) hardly seems to the point.

world and my own existence, the death which He endured that I may live, and that which every faithful man hopes, as I do, together with the aforesaid lively knowledge, have drawn me from the sea of the wrong love, and have set me on the shore of the right. The leaves wherewith is leafy all the garden of the eternal Gardener I love in proportion to the amount of good which from Him is borne to them."

So soon as I held my peace, a chant most sweet resounded through heaven, and my Lady was saying with the others: "Holy, Holy, Holy." And as at a keen light sleep departs through the spirit of sight which speeds back

La morte ch' ei sostenne, perch' io viva,
E quel che spera ogni fedel, com' io, 60
Con la predetta conoscenza viva,
Tratto m' hanno del mar dell' amor torto,
E del diritto m' han posto alla riva.
Le frondi, onde s' infronda tutto l' orto
Dell' ortolano eterno, am' io cotanto,
Quanto da lui a lor di bene è porto.
Sì com' io tacqui, un dolcissimo canto
Risonò per lo Cielo, e la mia Donna[e]
Dicea con gli altri, Santo, Santo, Santo.
E come a lume acuto si disonna 70
Per lo spirto visivo, che ricorre

[e] *per lor cielo Gg.*

62 **amor torto**: cf. Purg. xvii. 100 sqq.

69 Cf. xxiv. 113, xxv. 98. (Ought we not, in the second of these, to read *speravi in te?* This would refer the chant of the saints in each case to the "Te Deum.")

71 **spirto visivo.** The physiology of the time held that sensation and motion were caused by the movements of what were called the "spirits." See for example V.N. §§ 3 and 14. (In the latter of these the "spirits of sight" desert their organs, leaving their place to be

at the brightness which goes from coat to coat [of the eye], and the awakened man shrinks from that which he sees, so ignorant is his sudden awaking as long as the judging faculty comes not to his aid; thus from my eyes Beatrice chased every mote with the ray of hers which flashed to more than a thousand miles; wherefore I saw thereafter better than before, and as though stupefied I inquired con-

Allo splendor, che va di gonna in gonna,
E lo svegliato ciò che vede abborre,
Sì nescia è la sua subita vigilia,
Fin che la stimativa nol soccorre;
Così degli occhi miei ogni quisquilia
Fugò Beatrice col raggio dei suoi,
Che rifulgean da più di mille milia;
Onde, me' che dinanzi, vidi poi,
E quasi stupefatto dimandai 80

taken by Love.) The theory, whatever it may exactly have been, seems to have been developed from Aristotle's notion of a *πνεῦμα σύμφυτον*, or *ἔμφυτον*, which entered into the composition of all animal bodies, giving them their vital heat, and connected them with the universe (Gen. An. ii. 3, and cf. Virg. Aen. vi. 724 sqq.), its seat being the heart. Aristotle himself does not seem to have referred any sensations to it directly but those of smell and hearing (Gen. An. ii. 6: *ἡ δ' ὄσφρησις καὶ ἡ ἀκοὴ, πόροι συνάπτοντες πρὸς τὸν ἀέρα τὸν θύραθεν, πλήρεις συμφύτου πνεύματος*); but as he makes "every faculty of the soul" partake of it, the rest naturally follow. See also De Part. An. Dr. Ogle's translation, p. 183. It may be noted that our common expression "animal spirits" is nothing but a survival, like so many others, from Aristotle's terminology.

72 **gonna** seems meant to render the scientific *tunica*.

75 **stimativa** is the faculty by which the mind interprets the evidence given by the senses; e.g. perceives, in the words of Aristotle, De An. ii. 6, that "the white object is the son of Diares." "Ad apprehendum intentiones quae per sensum non accipiuntur, ordinatur vis aestimativa. . . . Alia animalia percipiunt hujusmodi intentiones solum naturali

cerning a fourth light which I beheld with us. And my Lady: "Within those rays looks with love upon its Maker the first soul which the prime Virtue ever created." As the leaf which bends its top in the passing of the wind and then lifts itself through its proper virtue which draws it on high, did I in measure as she was speaking, in astonishment; and then a desire of speaking wherewith I was on fire made me secure again, and I began: "O apple that wast alone produced ripe, O ancient father to whom every bride is daughter and daughter-in-law, with all the devotion in my power I supplicate thee that thou talk to me; thou seest my wish, and in order to hear thee quickly, I say it not."

D' un quarto lume, ch' io vidi con noi.
E la mia Donna: Dentro da quei rai
Vagheggia il suo fattor l' anima prima,
Che la prima virtù creasse mai.
Come la fronda, che flette la cima
Nel transito del vento, e poi si leva
Per la propria virtù che la sublima,
Fec' io in tanto quanto ella diceva,
Stupendo, e poi mi rifece sicuro
Un disio di parlare ond' io ardeva: 90
E cominciai: O pomo, che maturo
Solo prodotto fosti, o padre antico,
A cui ciascuna sposa è figlia e nuro,
Devoto, quanto posso, a te supplico,
Perchè mi parli; tu vedi mia voglia;
E, per udirti tosto, non la dico.

quodam instinctu; homo autem per quandam collationem. Et ideo quae in aliis animalibus dicitur aestimativa naturalis, in homine dicitur cogitativa."—S. T. i. Q. 78. A. 4. Aristotle does not appear to name it as a distinct "potentia" of the soul; this was first done by Avicenna.

81 **quarto lume:** Adam, who has now joined the three Apostles.

At times an animal, being covered up, so wriggles that its desire must needs appear by reason of the movement after it which its wrapper makes; and in like manner the first-created soul caused to appear to me through its covering how joyously it came to do me pleasure. Then it breathed forth: "Without its being set forth to me by thee, I better discern thy will than thou whatever thing is to thee most certain; because I see it in the truthful mirror which makes

Tal volta un animal coverto broglia,
  Sì che l' affetto convien, che si paia,
  Per lo seguir che face a lui la invoglia:
E similmente l' anima primaia 100
  Mi facea trasparer per la coverta,
  Quant' ella a compiacermi venia gaia.
Indi spirò: Senz' essermi profferta
  Da te, la voglia tua discerno meglio,[f]
  Che tu qualunque cosa t' è più certa:
Perch' io la veggio nel verace speglio,
  Che fa di sè pareglio l' altre cose,[g]

[f] *Dante Gg.* (al. *da te*) *Cass.* 1235 *W.; Dance* 4.
[g] *pareglio all' altre* 1245 *W. Giul.; pareglie l' altre* 3 *Ald. Bi.*

97-99 This simile, in which the soul of Adam within its encircling glory is likened to an animal struggling under a cloth, has much scandalised some of the commentators; but see note to xvii. 129.

104 **Da te.** It is impossible to believe that *Dante* can be the right reading, though it is found in many respectable MSS., endorsed by P. di Dante ("vocando Adam ipsum auctorem per nomen proprium, ad ostendendum quod a Deo in perfecta scientia fuit ipse Adam creatus, quod omnia nomina talia sunt ei nota"), and adopted by Landino among ancient, and Witte among modern editors. The introduction of the name would be a violation of the rule implied in Purg. xxx. 63 (see note ante, l. 55); and the absence of **da te** would quite destroy the balance of the sentence.

107 **pareglio.** The meaning of this is doubtful, and the readings

other things a copy of Itself, and nought makes It of itself a copy. Thou wouldst hear how long it is since God placed me in the high garden where this lady set thee in order for so long a climb; and how long delight my eyes had, and the proper cause of the great displeasure, and the idiom which I used and which I made. Now, my son, not the tasting of the tree was of itself the cause of so great banishment, but only the passing beyond the mark. From that

E nulla face lui di sè pareglio.
Tu vuoi udir quant' è che Dio mi pose[h]
Nell' eccelso giardino, ove costei 110
A così lunga scala ti dispose:
E quanto fu diletto agli occhi miei,
E la propria cagion del gran disdegno,
E l' idioma ch' io usai e fei.
Or, figliuol mio, non il gustar del legno
Fu per sè la cagion di tanto esilio,
Ma solamente il trapassar del segno.

[h] *Tu vuoi saper W.*

vary, chiefly between *l' altre* and *all' altre*. The chief objection to the latter is that we do not find *a lui* in the following line, as symmetry would require (besides that Dante would surely have written "nulla fa di sè a lui"); so that we must take **di sè** as depending on **pareglio** and not on **fa**. It is further to be observed that the lines are meant to be explanatory of the term **speglio** as applied to God. Now God is called "a mirror," in the sense that all events are reflected in His mind; but while the reflection in a mirror is the secondary appearance, God's knowledge precedes the event. Thus **pareglio** must mean something like "copy" or "likeness." It will thus be probably the same word as *pariglio*, which originally denotes "a pair" in the dice. The interpretation of it as "parhelion" may be dismissed as far-fetched.

115-117 S. T. ii. 2. Q. 163. A. 1: Primum primi hominis peccatum fuit superbia, in quam primus parens, similitudinem divinam arroganter, et *supra suae naturae modulum* expetendo prolapsus est.

place whence thy Lady moved Virgil, for four thousand three hundred and two revolutions of the sun did I long for this assembly, and I saw him return to all the stars of his road nine hundred and thirty times whiles that I was upon earth. The language which I spoke was all extinct before that the folk of Nimrod gave heed to the work that was not to be consummated; since never yet was any result of reason for the sake of human pleasure, which renews in pursuance of the stars, everlasting. That man speaks is

Quindi onde mosse tua Donna Virgilio,
  Quattromila trecento e due volumi
  Di Sol desiderai questo concilio: 120
E vidi lui tornare a tutti i lumi
  Della sua strada novecento trenta
  Fiate, mentre ch' io in Terra fumi.
La lingua ch' io parlai fu tutta spenta,
  Innanzi che all' ovra inconsumabile[i]
  Fosse la gente di Nembrotte attenta:
Chè nullo effetto mai razionabile,
  Per lo piacere uman, che rinnovella
  Seguendo il cielo, sempre fu durabile.
Opera naturale è ch' uom favella: 130

[i] *Innanzi assai che W.*

118 See Inf. iv. 55.

119 This follows the calculation which reckons 5232 years from the Creation to the Crucifixion.—**volumi** has here its literal meaning. Elsewhere Dante uses it simply as = "volume" (xv. 50); and sometimes, as xxiii. 112, xxviii. 14, with a kind of play on both meanings.

124 This statement contradicts what Dante says in Vulg. El. i. 6, where he holds that Adam spoke Hebrew. It is useless to try, as Giuliani has done, to reconcile the two statements; and it is better to suppose that Dante here, as elsewhere (e.g. with regard to the markings on the moon, in Canto II.), has taken an opportunity of retracting an opinion which, for whatever reason, he had come to think erroneous.

130 It will be seen that Dante's view of the origin of language

work of nature; but thus or thus, nature leaves then to you to do according as it pleases you. Before that I descended to the weariness of hell the highest Good was on earth called *I*, from whom comes the joy which swathes me. Afterwards He was called *El*; and this is meet; for the usage of mortals is as leaf on branch, which goes away, and another

Ma così o così, natura lascia
Poi fare a voi, secondo che v' abbella.
Pria ch' io scendessi alla infernale ambascia,
I s' appellava in Terra il sommo Bene,[k]
Onde vien la letizia che mi fascia:
EL si chiamò da poi; e ciò conviene;[l]
Chè l' uso dei mortali è come fronda
In ramo, che sen va, ed altra viene.

[k] *Un s' app. Gg.* 12345 *Ald.*: *L s' app. W.*
[l] *L si chiamò poi Cass.*; *El si chiamo poi Gg.* 1245; *Et el* 3; *Eli Ald. Bi.*

corresponds to that which he expresses in Purg. xviii. 55 sqq. as to the origin of morals. Man was made with the potentiality of speech, as with the capacity of feeling desire; but the subsequent direction of these powers is a matter for his choice, subject more or less to the influence of the heavenly bodies.

133 **l' infernale ambascia**: cf. Purg. xvi. 39.

134 The MSS. seem to vary only between *I* and *Un*; the latter arising no doubt from a misunderstanding of the former. The reading *L*, which Witte oddly adopts from Cod. Caet., can hardly be more than a writer's slip. Daniello, followed by many modern editors, gives *El*, which may be thought to have some support from Vulg. El. i. 4. But it is reasonable to suppose that here again he is correcting an earlier opinion. (It is curious to notice, by the way, how in this passage he repeats phrases from the earlier chapters of Vulg. El. Thus we have *Speculum*, of God, in chap. ii., *rationabile* in chap. iv. etc.). There can be little doubt that Dante was thinking of Exod. vi. 3, and meant by *I* (if indeed we should not read *Ia*) to indicate the name *Jehovah*, which, he would imply, was older than *Elohim*.

137, 138 Obviously with allusion to Horace, A. P. 60 and 71.

comes. On the mount which rises highest from the wave was I, with pure life and dishonoured, from the first hour to that which as the sun changes quadrants, is next after the sixth hour."

Nel monte, che si leva più dall' onda,
Fu' io con vita pura e disonesta 140
Dalla prim' ora, a quella ch' è seconda,
Come il Sol muta quadra, all' ora sesta.

[141] The duration of Adam's stay in Paradise was a favourite subject of discussion with the early theologians. Dante, it will be seen, considers it to have extended over little more than six hours.

[142] The sun passes into a fresh quadrant at every sixth hour.

CANTO XXVII.

ARGUMENT.

St. Peter vehemently rebukes the wickedness of the Bishops of Rome; and the saints ascend again on high. Dante and Beatrice mount to the ninth Heaven, of the First Movement, beyond which is neither time nor place.

"To the Father, to the Son, to the Holy Ghost, glory," the whole of Paradise began, so that the sweet chant inebriated me. That which I was beholding seemed to me one smile of the universe, wherefore my intoxication entered through the hearing and through the sight. O joy! O ineffable blitheness! O life complete of love and of peace! O riches without craving secure! Before my eyes the four

Al Padre, al Figlio, allo Spirito Santo
  Cominciò gloria tutto il Paradiso,
  Sì che m' inebbriava il dolce canto.
Ciò ch' io vedeva, mi sembrava un riso
  Dell' universo: perchè mia ebbrezza
  Entrava per l' udire e per lo viso.
O gioia! o ineffabile allegrezza!
  O vita intera d' amore e di pace!
  O senza brama sicura ricchezza!
Dinanzi agli occhi miei le quattro face 10

torches were standing kindled, and that which came first began to grow more lively, and became such in its semblance as Jove would become if he and Mars were birds and exchanged plumage. The providence which here apportions turn and office had made silence in the blessed choir on every hand, when I heard: "If I change my hue, marvel thou not; for as I speak thou wilt see all these change hue. He that usurps on earth my place, my place, my place which is vacant in the sight of the Son of God, has of my burying-place made a draught of the blood and of the filth, wherewith the perverse one who fell from this place on high, down there is appeased."

Stavano accese, e quella che pria venne,
Incominciò a farsi più vivace;
E tal nella sembianza sua divenne,
Qual diverrebbe Giove, s' egli e Marte
Fossero augelli, e cambiassersi penne.
La provedenza, che quivi comparte
Vice ed ufficio nel beato coro,
Silenzio posto avea da ogni parte,
Quand' io udi': Se io mi trascoloro,
Non ti maravigliar; chè, dicend' io, 20
Vedrai trascolorar tutti costoro.
Quegli, ch' usurpa in terra il luogo mio,
Il luogo mio, il luogo mio, che vaca
Nella presenza del figliuol di Dio,
Fatto ha del cimiterio mio cloaca
Del sangue e della puzza, onde il perverso,
Che cadde di quassù, laggiù si placa.

11 **quella**: St. Peter.

13-15 A rather cumbrous way of saying that St. Peter's light grew red.

23 **vaca.** Daniello takes the meaning to be that while Celestine lived, Boniface could not be lawfully Pope.

With that colour which by reason of the sun over against it paints a cloud at even or at morn, I beheld then the whole heaven overspread; and as an honourable dame who remains of herself secure, but for the fault of another, only hearing, grows affrighted; so Beatrice changed favour; and such eclipse I believe that there was in heaven when the highest Power suffered. Then his words proceeded with a voice so much altered that not more was his countenance changed: "The Bride of Christ was not nurtured on my blood, on that of Linus, on that of Cletus, to be used for gain of gold: but for gain of this joyful life Sixtus and Pius and Calixtus and Urban shed their blood after much

Di quel color, che, per lo Sole avverso,
  Nube dipinge da sera e da mane,
  Vid' io allora tutto il ciel cosperso. 30
E come donna onesta che permane
  Di sè sicura, e per l' altrui fallanza,
  Pure ascoltando timida si fane,
Così Beatrice trasmutò sembianza:
  E tale eclissi credo, che in ciel fue,
  Quando patì la suprema Possanza.
Poi procedetter le parole sue,
  Con voce tanto da sè trasmutata
  Che la sembianza non si mutò piue:
Non fu la Sposa di Cristo allevata 40
  Del sangue mio, di Lin, di quel di Cleto,
  Per essere ad acquisto d' oro usata:
Ma per acquisto d' esto viver lieto
  E Sisto e Pio Calisto ed Urbano

[41, 44] Linus (A.D. 67) is commonly held to have been St. Peter's immediate successor; Cletus, or Anacletus, was the next, or next but one. Sixtus I. and Pius I. were Bishops of Rome in the second century; Calixtus I. and Urban I. in the third.

weeping. It was not our intention that on the right hand of our successors should sit part, on the other hand part, of the Christian folk; nor that the keys which were granted to me should become a device on a banner to fight against men baptized; nor that I should be a figure on a seal set to trafficked and lying privileges, whereof I often blush and glow. In shepherd's clothing ravening wolves are seen from here above throughout the pastures; O defence of God, why slumberest thou ever! Of our blood men from Cahors and Gascony are making ready to drink: O good

Sparser lo sangue dopo molto fleto.
Non fu nostra intenzion, ch' a destra mano
Dei nostri successor parte sedesse,
Parte dall' altra del popol cristiano:
Nè che le chiavi, che mi fur concesse,
Divenisser segnacolo in vessillo, 50
Che contra i battezzati combattesse:
Nè ch' io fossi figura di sigillo
Ai privilegi venduti e mendaci,
Ond' io sovente arrosso e disfavillo.
In veste di pastor lupi rapaci
Si veggion di quassù per tutti i paschi.
O difesa di Dio, perchè pur giaci!
Del sangue nostro Caorsini e Guaschi
S' apparecchian di bere: o buon principio,

47, 48 The allusion is of course to Guelfs and Ghibelines.

50 Cf. Inf. xxvii. 85.

55 **lupi**, as usual with allusion to the Guelfs; though here there is no doubt a suggestion of Matt. vii. 15.

58 Clement V. (see xvii. 82), and his successor, John XXII. (1316), "nato di Caorsa di basso affare" (Villani ix. 81). This allusion fixes the date of this part of the poem.

beginning, to what vile end must thou needs fall! But the providence on high, which with Scipio guarded for Rome the glory of the world, will soon come to aid, as I deem.

"And thou my son, who for thy mortal load wilt yet return below, open thy mouth, and hide not that which I do not hide from thee."

As our air flakes frozen vapours downwards, when the horn of the heavenly goat is touched by the sun, upwards saw I thus the aether grow adorned, and flake vapours triumphing, which had made sojourn there with us. My sight began to follow their lineaments, and followed, until

A che vil fine convien che tu caschi! 60
Ma l' alta providenza, che con Scipio
Difese a Roma la gloria del mondo,
Soccorrà tosto, sì com' io concipio.
E tu figliuol, che per lo mortal pondo
Ancor giù tornerai, apri la bocca,
E non asconder quel ch' io non ascondo.
Sì come di vapor gelati fiocca
In giuso l' aer nostro, quando il corno
Della Capra del ciel col Sol si tocca;
In su vidi io così l' etera adorno 70
Farsi, e fioccar di vapor trionfanti,
Che fatto avean con noi quivi soggiorno.
Lo viso mio seguiva i suoi sembianti,
E seguì fin che il mezzo, per lo molto,

[61] Conv. iv. 5: Non pose Iddio le mani quando per la guerra d' Annibale . . . li Romani vollero abbandonare la terra, se quello benedetto Scipione giovane non avesse impresa l' andata in Africa per la sua franchezza?

[68, 69] The sun enters Capricorn at the winter solstice.

[71] **vapor**: i.e. spirits. Cf. Purg. xi. 6.

[74] **mezzo**, as in Purg. xxix. 45.

the interval, by its greatness, took from it the penetration into what was further. Wherefore my Lady who saw me released from gazing upwards, said to me: "Lower thy view, and look how thou hast revolved."

Since the hour when I had first looked I saw that I had moved through the whole arc which the first clime

Gli tolse il trapassar del più avanti:
Onde la Donna, che mi vide assolto
Dell' attendere in su, mi disse: Adima
Il viso, e guarda come tu sei volto.
Dall' ora, ch' io avea guardato prima,
Io vidi mosso me per tutto l' arco, 80
Che fa dal mezzo al fine il primo clima,

81 Although no variant of this line appears to exist, I can hardly doubt that the usual reading, or at least the usual interpretation, is not quite correct. In the following lines Dante says that he could see nearly as far as the coast of Phoenicia, and that he could have seen further, but that the sun was more than a whole sign in advance of him; implying that all east of that point was in darkness. The sun must therefore have been, as the "illustrious astronomer" quoted by Bianchi perceives, about 40 degrees to the westward, i.e. according to the geography of the time, just beyond the meridian of Gibraltar. (The common interpretation, that Dante himself was in this position, having gone six hours to the westward since he last looked down—xxii. 133—will not do, because in that case he would not, under any circumstances, have been able to see beyond the Phoenician coast, which would have then been his horizon.) But the sun was at this time somewhere near the middle of Aries; i.e. about 45 degrees in front of Dante's position. Dante must therefore have been a little past the meridian of Rome, which we know the geography of his time placed midway between Jerusalem, the centre, and the western limit of the inhabited world. See, for example, the *Mappa Mundi*, made by a contemporary of Dante, which is preserved in Hereford Cathedral. Incidentally it may be noted that St. Peter's invective gains much in force if we can suppose it to be delivered from a point in the heavens corresponding with the position of Rome on earth. But how then are

makes from the middle to the end; so that I saw beyond Gades the mad track of Ulysses, and on this side hard by the shore on which Europa became a sweet burthen. And further had the site of this little floor been disclosed to me; but the sun was preceding beneath my feet a sign and more away. My enamoured soul which takes its pleasure ever with my Lady, was burning more than ever to guide my eyes back to her. And if nature or art has

Sì ch' io vedea di là da Gade il varco
  Folle d' Ulisse, e di qua presso il lito,
  Nel qual si fece Europa dolce carco.
E più mi fora discoverto il sito
  Di questa aiuola; ma il sol procedea,
  Sotto i miei piedi un segno e più partito.
La mente innamorata, che donnea
  Con la mia Donna sempre, di ridure
  Ad essa gli occhi più che mai ardea. 90

we to understand l. 81? On any hypothesis, the *primo clima*, or first zone, cannot extend beyond the tropic of Cancer, or according to Dante's reckoning, about 23 degrees, so that from *its* middle to *its* end would only be about 11½ degrees. (I put aside the interpretations which take **mezzo** and **fine** to be the middle and end of the arc described in the course of a day, both for the reason given above, and also because there would be no special appropriateness in the *first* clime, since this would be the same for all.) In Conv. iii. 5, Dante speaks of *la mezza terra*, or as some MSS. read, *il mezzo della terra*, in the sense of the middle part of the inhabited earth; and of the equator as running "quasi per tutta *l' estremità del primo Climate.*" The distance between these is of course 45 degrees, or just what we want here. Ought we not then to read, *Che va dal mezzo al fin del primo clima*? This would make all clear.

82, 83 See Inf. xxvi. 100 sqq. and cf. the *folle volo* of line 125 with **varco folle.**

84 **Europa.** Ov. Met. ii. 833 to end.

86 **aiuola:** the same word as he uses in xxii. 151.

88 **donnea** seems here to have a converse sense to that in xxiv. 118.

made food to catch the eyes, so as to take the mind, in flesh of man, or in her paintings, all united would appear nought to the divine pleasure which beamed again on me when I turned me to her smiling countenance. And the virtue which the look bestowed on me, rent me away from the fair nest of Leda, and impelled me into the swiftest heaven.

Its parts, most living and lofty, are so of one form that I have not lore to tell what Beatrice selected for a place

E se natura o arte fe pasture
  Da pigliare occhi per aver la mente,
  In carne umana o nelle sue pinture,
Tutte adunate parrebber niente,
  Ver lo piacer divin che mi rifulse,
  Quando mi volsi al suo viso ridente.
E la virtù, che lo sguardo m' indulse,
  Del bel nido di Leda mi divelse,
  E nel ciel velocissimo m' impulse.
Le parti sue vivissime ed eccelse[a] 100
  Sì uniformi son, ch' io non so dire
  Qual Beatrice per luogo mi scelse.

[a] *vicissime Cass.* 234 *W.; dicissime* 15.

91 **natura o arte**: cf. Purg. xxxi. 49, 50.

98 **nido di Leda**: i.e. the Twins, Castor and Pollux.

99 They rise to the ninth heaven, or *primo mobile*, which, as being nearest to God, moves the fastest. See Conv. ii. 4, quoted in note, i. 76.

100 Many MSS. and most of the earliest edd. read *vicissime*, a *vox nihili*, which Scartazzini defends, alone among modern editors; for Witte, though he puts it in his text, translates "lebensvoll." It is said to stand for *vicinissime*, which hardly seems possible; nor would this be a natural counterpart (as it must be taken) to *eccelse*. The usual rule, to prefer the less obvious of two readings, is modified here by the probability that the *-cissime* has slipt in from *velocissime* just above.

for me. But she, who saw my desire, began smiling, in such joy that God seemed to rejoice in her face: "The nature of the world, that holds the centre quiet, and moves all else around, begins hence as from its starting-point. And this heaven has no other Where than the mind of God,

Ma ella che vedeva il mio disire,
  Incominciò, ridendo, tanto lieta
  Che Dio parea nel suo volto gioire:
La natura del mondo, che quieta[b]
  Il mezzo, e tutto l' altro intorno muove,
  Quinci comincia come da sua meta.
E questo cielo non ha altro dove

[b] *moto Ald. Bi.*

106-120 When the last sphere of visible bodies is passed, place and time cannot be said to have any existence. See De Caelo i. 9: *Ἕνα μὲν οὖν τρόπον οὐρανὸν λέγομεν, τὴν οὐσίαν τήν τῆς ἐσχάτης τοῦ παντὸς περιφορᾶς· ἢ σῶμα φυσικὸν τὸ ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ περιφορᾷ τοῦ παντός· εἰώθαμεν γαρ τὸ ἔσχατον καὶ ἄνω μάλιστα καλεῖν οὐρανὸν ἐν ᾧ τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἱδρῦσθαί φαμεν . . . . Φανερὸν τοίνυν ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων, ὅτι οὔτε ἐστὶν ἔξω, οὔτ' ἐγχωρεῖ γένεσθαι σώματος ὄγκον οὐδένος . . . Ἅμα δὲ δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ τόπος, οὐδὲ κενόν οὐδὲ χρόνος ἐστὶν ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἐν ἅπαντι γὰρ τόπῳ δυνατὸν ὑπάρξαι σῶμα . . . Χρόνος δ' ἔστὶν ἀριθμὸς κινήσεως* (see Phys. iv. 10, 11) . . . *φανερὸν ἄρα, ὅτι οὔτε τόπος οὔτε κενὸν οὔτε χρόνος ἐστὶν ἔξωθεν· διόπερ οὔτ' ἐν τόπῳ τακεῖ πέφυκεν, οὔτε χρόνος αὐτὰ ποιεῖ γήρασκειν.* It will be observed however that the idea of a sphere intermediate between the outside of the heaven properly so called, and the eternal abode of Deity, does not seem to have occurred to Aristotle, or at least to have been directly formulated by him. It was probably developed from such passages as Phys. iv. 14: *ἐπεὶ δ' ἐστὶ πρώτη* (sc. *τῶν κινήσεων*) *ἡ φορὰ καὶ ταύτης ἡ κύκλῳ, ἀριθμεῖται δ' ἕκαστον ἑνί τινι συγγενεῖ, μονάδες μονάδι, ἵπποι δ' ἵππῳ, οὕτω καὶ ὁ χρόνος χρόνῳ τινί ὡρισμένῳ, μετρεῖται δ' ὥσπερ εἴπομεν ὅ τε χρόνος κίνησει καὶ ἡ κίνησις χρόνῳ, τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν, ὅτι ὑπὸ τῆς ὡρισμένης κινήσεως χρόνῳ μετρεῖται τῆς τε κινήσεως τὸ πόσον καὶ τοῦ χρόνου· εἰ οὖν τὸ πρῶτον μέτρον πάντων τῶν συγγενῶν, ἡ κυκλοφορία*

in which is kindled the love that turns it and the virtue that it showers down. Light and love comprehend it with one circle, as it does the rest; and of that girth He only who girt it is the intelligence. Its movement is not marked out by any other, but the others are measured by it, as ten by a half and a fifth. And how time has in such vessel its roots and in the others its leaves, can now be clear to thee.

Che la mente divina, in che s' accende 110
L' amor che il volge, e la virtù ch' ei piove.
Luce ed amor d' un cerchio lui comprende
Sì come questo gli altri, e quel precinto
Colui che il cinge, solamente intende.
Non è suo moto per altro distinto;
Ma gli altri son misurati da questo,
Sì come diece da mezzo e da quinto.
E come il tempo tenga in cotal testo
Le sue radici, e negli altri le fronde,
Omai a te puot' esser manifesto. 120

ἡ ὁμαλὴς (uniforme) *μέτρον μάλιστα, ὅτι ὁ ἀριθμὸς ὁ ταύτης γνωριμώτατος· ἀλλοίωσις μὲν οὖν οὐδ' αὔξησις οὐδὲ γένεσις οὐκ εἰσὶν ὁμαλεῖς, φορὰ δ' ἐστίν· διὸ καὶ δοκεῖ ὁ χρόνος εἶναι ἡ τῆς σφαίρας κίνησις, ὅτι ταύτῃ μετροῦνται αἱ ἄλλαι κινήσεις* (cf. l. 116) *καὶ ὁ χρόνος ταύτῃ τῇ κινήσει.*

110 **la mente divina.** Here again we can hardly trace an immediate Aristotelian origin for the idea. It is perhaps more like the Timaeus; but we find somewhat the same notion in Met. *α.* 3 (984b): *νοῦν δή τις εἰπὼν εἶναι, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ζώοις, καὶ ἐν τῇ φύσει τὸν αἴτιον τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῆς τάξεως πάσης, οἷον νήφων ἐφάνη παρ' εἰκῇ λέγοντας τοὺς πρότερον.* Cf. Boëthius, Cons. Phil. iii. Metr. 9: pulcrum pulcerrimus ipse Mundum mente gerens. See also Conv. iii. 2 ad fin.

112 **Luce ed amor:** i.e. the highest or empyrean heaven: of which God Himself is the "intelligence" as the angelic orders are of the lower spheres.

114 **intende:** as in viii. 37.

O covetousness, which dost so whelm mortals under thee that none has power to draw his eyes forth of thy waves! Well flowers in men their will; but the rain when unbroken turns to sloes the true plums. Faith and innocence are found only in children: then each takes flight, before the cheeks are covered. One, while he yet lisps, fasts, who afterward devours, with his tongue set free, any food in any

O cupidigia, che i mortali affonde
  Sì sotto te, che nessuno ha podere
  Di trarre gli occhi fuor delle tue onde!
Ben fiorisce negli uomini 'l volere:
  Ma la pioggia continua converte
  In bozzacchioni le susine vere.
Fede ed innocenzia sono reperte
  Solo nei pargoletti: poi ciascuna
  Pria fugge, che le guancie sien coperte.
Tale, balbuziendo ancor, digiuna, 130
  Che poi divora con la lingua sciolta

121 sqq. The connection of this with what has gone before will be seen if we consider that in Dante's view cupidity (in which he appears to include all ill-regulated desire) was the origin of all the ills, political and social, from which the world was suffering. There is a very similar train of thought in De Mon. i. 11, 12, 13: and the close resemblance between the two passages extends even to details. The well-known dictum of Aristotle (Phys. ii. 2), *ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπον γεννᾷ καὶ ἥλιος*, which is here alluded to (ll. 137, 138), is there quoted. This again carries us to Metaph. λ. 5 (1071a): *ἀνθρώπου αἴτιον . . . ὁ ἥλιος καὶ ὁ λοξὸς κύκλος*, and we observe that De Mon. i. 12 ends with a quotation of the closing words of that book: *τὰ ὄντα οὐ βούλεται πολιτεύεσθαι κακῶς· οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· εἷς κοίρανος.* Now the movements of the heavens govern the order of the world; and thus, as in Purg. xx. 10–15, any reflection on the one naturally suggests the other.

124 **volere.** Metaph. λ. 7 (1072a): *ἐπιθυμητὸν μὲν τὸ φαινόμενον καλόν, βουλητὸν δὲ πρῶτον τὸ ὂν καλόν.*

month. And one while he lisps, loves and listens to his mother, who with speech perfect thereafter longs to see her buried. So grows dark at the first glance the fair skin of the beauteous daughter of him who brings morning and leaves evening. Thou, that thou make not marvel to thyself, deem that on earth there is none to govern: wherefore the human family is gone astray. But before that January is wholly out of winter, by reason of the hundredth part that on earth is neglected, these circles on high shall so roar that the tempest which is awaited thus long shall turn

Qualunque cibo, per qualunque luna.
E tal balbuziendo ama ed ascolta
La madre sua, che con loquela intera
Disia poi di vederla sepolta.
Così si fa la pelle bianca nera,
Nel primo aspetto, della bella figlia
Di quel che apporta mane e lascia sera.
Tu, perchè non ti facci maraviglia,
Sappi che in terra non è chi governi: 140
Onde sì svia l' umana famiglia.
Ma prima che Gennaio tutto si sverni,
Per la centesma ch' è laggiù negletta,
Ruggeran sì questi cerchi superni,
Che la fortuna, che tanto s' aspetta,

137 **figlia**: human nature. See above, note to l. 121.

140, 141 Cf. Purg. xvi. 103.

142, 143 The Julian Calendar put the length of the year at 365¼ days, and made every fourth year a leap-year. This was however too long by somewhat less than the hundredth part of a day, so that in Dante's time the error was nearly ten days, and January had been pushed by this amount nearer to the end of winter. As is well known, in 1582 Gregory XIII. corrected the error, and ordered that three out of every four hundredth years should be ordinary years. The Greek Church testifies its independence of Rome by keeping the old style.

the poops where the prows are, so that the fleet shall speed aright: and true fruit shall come after the flower."

Le poppe volgerà u' son le prore,[c]
Sì che la classe correrà diretta:
E vero frutto verrà dopo il fiore.

[c] *in sulle prore Cass.* 134 *W.; u su Gg.*

[148] A recurrence to the metaphor of l. 126.

CANTO XXVIII.

ARGUMENT.

Dante sees a point of exceeding brightness, and revolving around it nine circles, which are the nine Orders of Angels. Beatrice enlightens him concerning these Orders.

After that, counter to the present life of wretched mortals she had disclosed the truth who makes paradise about my mind, as in a mirror he sees the flame of a candle who is lighted therewith in rear, before having it in sight or in thought, and turns him about to see if the glass tells him the truth, and sees that that agrees with this as note with its measure: so my memory recalls that I did, gazing into the

Poscia che incontro alla vita presente
  Dei miseri mortali aperse il vero
  Quella, che imparadisa la mia mente:
Come in ispecchio fiamma di doppiero
  Vede colui che se n' alluma dietro,
  Prima che l' abbia in vista od in pensiero,
E sè rivolve, per veder se il vetro
  Li dice il vero, e vede ch' el s' accorda
  Con esso, come nota con suo metro,[a]
Così la mia memoria si ricorda, 10

[a] *come corda Gg.*

9 I.e. as the tune with the words, or rather, their rhythm.

fair eyes, whence Love made the cord to take me. And as I turned me about, and my own were touched by what appears in that roll, whenever the eye is rightly bent upon its whirl, I saw a point which radiated light so keen, that the sight which it fires must needs close itself, for the great keenness; and whatever star here appears smallest would seem a moon when placed with it as star is placed in conjunction with star. Perhaps, as near as a halo appears to

Ch' io feci, riguardando nei begli occhi,
Onde a pigliarmi fece Amor la corda.
E com' io mi rivolsi, e furon tocchi
Li miei da ciò che pare in quel volume,
Quandunque nel suo giro ben s' adocchi,
Un punto vidi che raggiava lume
Acuto sì, che il viso, ch' egli affoca,
Chiuder conviensi per lo forte acume.
E quale stella par quinci più poca,
Parrebbe Luna locata con esso 20
Come stella con stella si collòca.
Forse cotanto, quanto pare appresso
Alo cinger la luce che il dipigne,[b]

[b] *Halo al cinger la l. Cass.; al cinger de la l.* 134; *alo cinger della l.* 2; *allo c. l. l.* 5.

[11] He sees Beatrice's eyes brighten, and turning round, perceives that the highest, or empyrean, Heaven is coming into view.

[12] Cf. Purg. xxxi. 117.

[14] **volume.** See note, xxvi. 119.

[16 sqq.] The point symbolises the unity and indivisibility of the Godhead; "*μέγεθος οὐδὲν ἐνδέχεται ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν οὐσίαν, ἀλλ' ἀμερὴς καὶ ἀδιαίρετος ἐστιν.*"—Met. λ. 7 (1073a). About it revolve nine circles, representing the orders of angels, so that the smallest corresponds to the "Intelligence" which moves the outermost of the heavenly spheres.

[23, 24] **Alo.** Aristotle, Meteor. iii. 2–5, discusses the causes of haloes

surround the light which gives it colour when the vapour which bears it is most dense, at so great distance around the point a circle of fire was whirling so swift that it would have surpassed that motion which most quickly girdles the world; and this was wrapped round by a second, and that by the third, and the third then by the fourth, the fourth by the fifth, and then the fifth by the sixth. Beyond followed the seventh, spread now so far in breadth, that Juno's messenger complete would be too narrow to contain it. So the eighth and the ninth: and each moved more slowly according as its number was farther removed from unity. And that one had its flame most unsullied which

Quando il vapor che il porta più è spesso,[c]
Distante intorno al punto un cerchio d' igne
Si girava sì ratto, ch' avria vinto
Quel moto che più tosto il mondo cigne:
E questo era d' un altro circuncinto,
E quel dal terzo, e il terzo poi dal quarto,
Dal quinto il quarto, e poi dal sesto il quinto. 30
Sovra seguiva il settimo sì sparto
Già di larghezza, che il messo di Juno
Intero a contenerlo sarebbe arto:
Così l' ottavo, e il nono: e ciascheduno
Più tardo si movea, secondo ch' era
In numero distante più dall' uno:

[c] *Quanto* 12345 *Ald.*

and rainbows. In ch. 3 he says: Γίγνεται ἡ ἀνακλασις τῆς ὄψεως, συνισταμένου τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ τῆς ἀτμίδος εἰς νέφος, ἐὰν ὁμαλὸς καὶ μικρομερὴς συνισταμένη τύχῃ.

33 **Intero.** Aristotle observes that the entire rainbow is never seen: τῆς ἴριδος οὐδέποτε γίγνεται κύκλος, οὐδὲ μεῖζον ἡμικυκλίου τμῆμα.

was least distant from the pure spark; I think because it has most truth of it.

My Lady, who beheld me in my care mightily in suspense, said: "From this point depends the heaven and all nature. Look at that circle which is most in conjunction with it, and know that its movement is so fast through the enflamed love whereby it is goaded." And I to her: "If the world were placed with the order which I see in these wheels, that which is set before me would have sated me. But in the world of sense one can see the revolutions so much the more godlike, as they are more remote from the centre. Wherefore, if my desire is

E quello avea la fiamma più sincera,
Cui men distava la favilla pura,
Credo però che più di lei s' invera.
La Donna mia, che mi vedeva in cura 40
Forte sospeso, disse: Da quel punto
Depende il cielo e tutta la natura.
Mira quel cerchio che più gli è congiunto,
E sappi, che il suo muovere è sì tosto,
Per l' affocato amore ond egli è punto.
Ed io a lei: Se il mondo fosse posto
Con l' ordine ch' io veggio in quelle ruote,
Sazio m' avrebbe ciò che m' è proposto.
Ma nel mondo sensibile si puote
Veder le volte tanto più divine,[d] 50
Quant' elle son dal centro più remote.[e]

[d] *le cose Cass.* 1234. [e] *dal cerchio* 14.

40 **in cura**: because of the reversed order in which the circles appear; that which is nearest to the centre moving most rapidly.

42 Ar. Met. λ. 7 (1072b): *Ἐπεὶ δ' ἔστι τι κινοῦν αὐτὸ ἀκίνητον ὄν, τοῦτο οὐκ ἐνδέχεται ἄλλως ἔχειν οὐδαμῶς. . . . ἐκ τοιαύτης ἄρα ἀρχῆς ἤρτηται ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ φύσις.*

to have an end in this wondrous and angelic temple, which has only love and light for boundaries, it is meet that I hear further how the copy and the pattern go not after one fashion; since I by myself meditate on that in vain." "If thy fingers are not sufficient to so great a knot, it is no marvel; so hard has it grown for want of trying." Thus my Lady; then she said: "Take that which I shall say to thee, if thou wouldest be satisfied, and about it sharpen thy wits. The circles of the bodies are wide and narrow,

Onde se il mio disio dee aver fine
  In questo miro ed angelico templo,
  Che solo amore e luce ha per confine;
Udir conviemmi ancor come l' esemplo[f]
  E l' esemplare non vanno d' un modo:
  Chè io per me indarno a ciò contemplo.
Se li tuoi diti non sono a tal nodo
  Sufficienti, non è maraviglia,
  Tanto per non tentare è fatto sodo: 60
Così la Donna mia, poi disse: Piglia
  Quel ch' io ti dicerò, se vuoi saziarti,
  Ed intorno da esso t' assottiglia.
Li cerchi corporai sono ampi ed arti,

[f] *perchè l' es. W.*

54 Cf. xxvii. 112.

55, 56 S. T. i. Q. 18. A. 4: Exemplata oportet conformari exemplari secundum rationem formae, non autem secundum modum essendi; nam alterius modi esse habet forma quandoque in exemplari, et in exemplato. Sicut forma domus in mente artificis habet esse immateriale et intelligibile; in domo autem habet esse materiale et sensibile. Unde et rationes rerum quae in seipsis non vivunt, in mente divina sunt vita; quia in mente divina habent esse divinum. It is clear, from the phraseology of these lines and of 49, 50, that Dante had this passage in his mind.

64-69 The spheres in which the heavenly bodies revolve are greater in proportion to the degree of virtue (ἀρετὴ) possessed by those who

according to the more and the less of the virtue which is spread through all their parts. A greater excellence requires a greater salvation: a greater salvation takes a greater body, if that has its parts uniformly filled. So this which sweeps all the rest of the universe along with it, corresponds to the circle which has most love and most wisdom. Wherefore if thou lay thy measure about the virtue, not the seeming of the substances which appear to thee rounded, thou wilt see

Secondo il più e il men della virtute,
Che si distende per tutte lor parti.
Maggior bontate vuol maggior salute;[g]
Maggior salute maggior corpo cape,
S' egli ha le parti ugualmente compiute.
Dunque costui, che tutto quanto rape 70
L' altro universo seco, corrisponde[h]
Al cerchio che più ama e che più sape.
Per che se tu alla virtù circonde
La tua misura, non alla parvenza
Delle sustanze che t' appaion tonde,

[g] *bontà vuol far Cass.* 1234 *Ald. W. Bi. Giul.* [h] *L' alto Ald. Bi.*

occupy them. I understand **virtute** and **bontate** to mean very nearly the same thing here; and **salute** to have the sense which it has in xiv. 84 and xxii. 124. (The use of it may have been suggested by that of σωτηρία in Met. *v.* 4 (1091b), and the connection with *bontate* got from Eth. vii. 8, ἡ ἀρετὴ . . . . σώζει). It will be seen that I have taken a reading of l. 67 which has the authority of a few MSS. only; but I cannot help thinking that the ordinary version is founded on a misunderstanding. So too I have departed from the usual rendering in taking **salute** in l. 68 as the subject, **corpo** as the object of **cape.** But the symmetry of the passage seems to demand this; and there is no difficulty in understanding *cape* in a sense in which we use "to take;" very nearly equivalent to the more common form, "capere in."

[70] I.e., the outermost sphere, or Primum Mobile, corresponds with the order of Seraphim, denoted by the innermost ring, which is most perfect in love and knowledge.

a marvellous agreement, of greater to more and of smaller to less, in each heaven to its own Intelligence."

As splendid and serene remains the hemisphere of the air, when Boreas blows from that cheek, whence he is most gentle, whereby the fog which before troubled it is purged and broken up, so that the heaven smiles therefore with the beauties of its every region; so did I, after that my Lady furnished me with her clear response, and as a star in

Tu vederai mirabil conseguenza[i]
Di maggio a più, e di minore a meno,
In ciascun cielo, a sua intelligenza.
Come rimane splendido e sereno
L' emisperio dell' aere, quando soffia 80
Borea dalla guancia ond' è più leno;
Perchè si purga e risolve la roffia
Che pria turbava, sì che il ciel ne ride,
Con le bellezze d' ogni sua paroffia;
Così fec' io, poi che mi provvide
La Donna mia del suo risponder chiaro,[k]
E come stella in cielo il ver si vide.

[i] *convenenza Ald. Bi.* [k] *nel suo Gg.*

81 **leno** = "lenis" (as *tristo*="tristis"). It is clearly the N.E. wind that is meant (see Brunetto, Trésor ii. 37), the "veris comites, animae Thraciae" of Horace. Cf. Boëthius i. Metr. 3:

Tunc me discussa liquerunt nocte tenebrae,
Luminibusque prior rediit vigor;
Ut cum praecipiti glomerantur sidera Coro,
Nimbosisque polus stetit imbribus;
Sol latet, ac nondum caelo venientibus astris,
Desuper in terram nox funditur,
Hanc si Threicio Boreas emissus ab amtro
Verberet, et clausum reseret diem,
Emicat et subito vibratus lumine Phoebus
Mirantes oculos radiis ferit.

heaven, the truth was seen. And after that her speech had stayed, not otherwise does iron sparkle which is seething, than the circles sparkled. Every spark followed their burning; and they were so many that the number of them is more in thousands than the doubling of the chess. I heard Hosanna sung from choir to choir, even to the fixed point which holds them and will hold them ever to the *ubi* in which they have ever been; and she who saw the doubtful thoughts in my mind, said: "The first circles

E poi che le parole sue ristaro,
  Non altrimenti ferro disfavilla
  Che bolle, come i cerchi sfavillaro. 90
Lo incendio lor seguiva ogni scintilla:
  Ed eran tante, che il numero loro,
  Più che il doppiar degli scacchi s' immilla.
Io sentiva osannar di coro in coro
  Al punto fisso che gli tiene all' *ubi*,[1]
  E terrà sempre, nel qual sempre foro.[m]
E quella, che vedeva i pensier dubi
  Nella mia mente, disse: I cerchi primi

[1] *alli ubi Gg.; aliubi Cass.* 134. [m] *nei quai Gg. Cass.* 12345.

89 Cf. i. 60.

93 An allusion to the story of the reward asked by the inventor of the game of chess: one grain of corn for the first square, two for the second, four for the third, and so on in geometrical progression. The total runs into trillions. The Aldine rather absurdly reads *sciocchi*, which Daniello adopts, quoting Petrarch, Trionfo del Tempo, 84: infinita è la schiera degli sciocchi; and Eccles. i. 15: stultorum infinitus est numerus, which is hardly to the point here.

98 Beatrice explains the arrangement of the angelic hierarchies. The medieval doctrine on this subject was based mainly on the work ascribed to Dionysius the Areopagite, but really belonging in all probability to the end of the fifth century, and on a sermon of St. Gregory the Great; but its original source is no doubt to be sought in

have shown to thee Seraphim and Cherubim. So swift do they follow their bonds, to liken themselves to the centre all they can; and they can in proportion as in beholding they are exalted. Those other loves, who go around them, are called Thrones of the aspect of God, wherefore they are the boundary of the first triplet. And thou must know that all have delight in proportion as their view fathoms the

T' hanno mostrato Serafi e Cherubi.
Così veloci seguono i suoi vimi, 100
Per somigliarsi al punto quanto ponno,
E posson quanto a veder son sublimi.
Quegli altri amor, che dintorno gli vonno,
Si chiaman Troni del divino aspetto,
Perchè il primo ternaro terminonno.
E dèi saper che tutti hanno diletto,
Quanto la sua veduta si profonda

four passages of St. Paul's Epistles. These are Rom. viii. 38 (angeli, principatus, virtutes, ἄγγελοι, ἀρχαί, δυνάμεις); Eph. i. 21 (principatum, et potestatem, et virtutem, et dominationem, ἀρχῆ, ἐξούσία, δύναμις, κυριότης); Col. 1. 16 (throni, dominationes, principatus, potestates); ib. ii. 15 (principatus et potestates). I have quoted the last, because a reference to it will show that the terms as used by St. Paul had not the meaning which was afterwards read into them. For our present purpose it is enough to observe that, with the addition of Seraphim, Cherubim, and Archangels, they were subsequently used to denote three groups of Angelic beings, each containing three orders. Dionysius takes them thus: Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones—Dominations, Virtues, Powers—Principalities, Archangels, Angels. St. Thomas (S. T. i. Q. 108) has a good deal to say on the subject; and Philalethes has a long note on this passage, which may be consulted by any who wish for more information.

104 **Troni**; see ix. 61.

106.114 An expansion of the theory stated in xiv. 40 sqq. The following passages from S. T. will serve to illustrate it: ii. 1. Q. 3. A. 4:

True, in whom all understanding is set at rest. Hence it may be seen how the essence of blessedness is founded on the act which sees, not on that which loves, which follows after: and of the seeing desert is the measure, which grace and good will bring forth; in this wise is the advance from grade to grade.

"The next triplet, which thus burgeons in this eternal

Nel vero in che si queta ogni intelletto.
Quinci si può veder come si fonda
L' esser beato nell' atto che vede, 110
Non in quel ch' ama, che poscia seconda:
E del vedere è misura mercede,
Che grazia partorisce e buona voglia;
Così di grado in grado si procede.
L' altro ternaro, che così germoglia
In questa primavera sempiterna,

Essentia beatitudinis in actu intellectus consistit. Sed ad voluntatem pertinet delectatio beatitudinem consequens, secundum quod Augustinus dicit (Conf. x. 23) quod beatitudo est gaudium de veritate. A. 8: Ultima et perfecta beatitudo non potest esse nisi in visione divinae essentiae. Q. 4. A. 1: Ex hoc ipso quod merces alicui redditur, voluntas merentis quiescit, quod est delectari; unde in ipsa ratione mercedis redditae delectatio includitur. A. 2: Charitas non quaerit bonum dilectum propter delectationem; sed hoc est ei consequens, ut delectetur in bono adepto quod amat: et sic delectatio non respondet ei ut finis, sed magis visio per quam primo finis fit ei praesens. A. 3: Sed delectatio in praesentia consequitur dilectionem: et ideo necesse est ista tria concurrere, scilicet visionem, quae est cognitio perfecta intelligibilis finis, comprehensionem, quae importat praesentiam finis, delectationem vel fruitionem, quae importat quietationem rei amantis in amato.

110 Word for word from Ar. Eth. x. 8: *Ἡ τελεία εὐδαιμονία θεωρητική τις ἐστὶν ἐνέργεια.*

113 S. T. ii. 2. Q. 8. A. 4: In omnibus habentibus gratiam necesse est esse rectitudinem voluntatis; quia per gratiam praeparatur voluntas hominis ad bonum.

spring, which no Ram seen by night despoils, keeps its Hosanna perpetually free from winter, with three melodies, which resound in three orders of joy wherein it is made threefold. In this hierarchy are the three Divinities, first Dominations and next Virtues; the third order is of Powers. Lastly, in the two dances before the end, whirl Princedoms and Archangels; the last is wholly of Angelic sports. These orders gaze all on high, and beneath have such mastery that towards God all are drawn and all draw. And Dionysius with so great desire set himself to contemplate

Che notturno Ariete non dispoglia,
Perpetualemente Osanna sverna,[n]
Con tre melode, che suonano in tree
Ordini di letizia onde s'interna. 120
In essa gerarchia son le tre Dee,[o]
Prima Dominazioni, e poi Virtudi;
L' ordine terzo di Podestadi ee.
Poscia nei duo penultimi tripudi
Principati ed Arcangeli si girano;
L' ultimo è tutto d' Angelici ludi.
Questi ordini di su tutti rimirano,[p]
E di giù vincon sì che verso Iddio
Tutti tirati sono e tutti tirano.
E Dionisio con tanto disio, 130
A contemplar questi ordini si mise,

[n] *esterna Gg.; sberna Cass.; isberna* 14.
[o] *sono tre Gg.; son l' altre Cass.* 23 *Ald.*
[p] *tutti s' ammirano Gg. Cass.* 145.

117 The Ram is visible throughout the night when the Sun is in the Scales; i.e. after the autumnal equinox, when the leaves fall.

121 **Dee**: because the names are all feminine.

127 Cf. ii. 123: **di su** and **di giù** strictly mean "on the upper side" and "on the lower side."

these orders, that he named and distinguished them as I do. But Gregory afterward separated from him; wherefore, so soon as he opened his eyes on this heaven, he laughed at himself. And if a mortal set forth so great a secret on earth, I will not that thou marvel; for he who beheld it here on high discovered it to him, with much else of the truth of these circles."

Che li nomò e distinse com' io.
Ma Gregorio da lui poi si divise:
Onde sì tosto come gli occhi aperse[q]
In questo ciel, di sè medesmo rise.
E se tanto segreto ver profferse[r]
Mortale in terra, non voglio ch' ammiri;
Chè chi il vide quassù gliel discoverse,
Con altro assai del ver di questi giri.

[q] *l' occhio Cass.* 134 *W.* [r] *tanto di se vero* 1245.

133 St. Gregory transposed the Principalities and the Virtues in his arrangement. Dante himself, in Conv. ii. 6 (q. v.), adopts yet a third, putting Powers in the highest Order, Principalities in the second, and Thrones in the lowest. Here, as elsewhere, he seems to recant an earlier opinion.

138 Because Dionysius was regarded as the pupil of St. Paul, who had himself been "caught up into heaven."

CANTO XXIX.

ARGUMENT.

Beatrice expounds certain matters regarding the nature of angels; and reproves the foolishness of preachers.

WHEN both the children of Latona, brooded over by the Ram and the Scales, together make of the horizon a belt, as much as there is from the moment which holds them balanced, until the one and the other lose their balance from that circuit, by changing hemispheres, so long, with her face tinted by a smile, was Beatrice silent, gazing

QUANDO ambedue li figli di Latona
Coperti del Montone e della Libra,
Fanno dell' orizzonte insieme zona,
Quant' è dal punto che li tiene in libra,[a]
Infin che l' uno e l' altro da quel cinto
Cambiando l' emisperio si dilibra;
Tanto, col volto di riso dipinto,
Si tacque Beatrice, riguardando

[a] *Quanto del primo* 3; *punto che il zenit inlibra Gg. W.; z. i libra Bi.*

1.6 This means merely, for so long a time as the sun and moon, being opposite to each other at the equinox, and on the horizon, take, the one to rise wholly, the other to set.

4 See note at end of the Canto.

fixedly on the point which had overcome me. Then she began: "I say, and inquire not, that which thou wouldest hear, because I have seen it where all *ubi* and all *quando* are concentrated. Not to have acquisition of good to Himself, which cannot be, but in order that His brightness might in shining again say, I subsist; in His own eternity, out-

Fiso nel punto, che m' aveva vinto:
Poi cominciò: Io dico, e non dimando 10
Quel che tu vuoi udir, perch' io l' ho visto,
Ove s' appunta ogni *ubi* ed ogni *quando.*
Non per avere a sè di bene acquisto[b]
Ch' esser non può, ma perchè suo splendore
Potesse risplendendo dir: Sussisto;
In sua eternità, di tempo fuore,

[b] *di ben a se Gg.*

[11] The chief points on which Dante wishes for enlightenment are, as appears from Beatrice's explanation, the following: Why, when, where, and how were the angels created? How soon and why did some of them fall? In what sense can they be said to possess intelligence, memory, and will? Is their number (*a*) great, (*b*) finite? The answers are very clearly given, and will need little elucidation; but references to the passages in Aquinas, Augustin, and Peter Lombard, which Dante follows, may be interesting. Naturally, Aristotle will not be found of much help.

[13-15] S. T. i. Q. 26. A. 4: Divina beatitudo complectitur omnem beatitudinem. S. c. G. ii. 46 (quoted by Scartazzini): Ad productionem creaturarum nihil aliud movit Deum nisi sua bonitas, quam rebus aliis communicare voluit. **splendore—sussisto**: cf. xiii. 53, 59.

[16] **In sua eternità**: not from eternity, but in eternity, i.e. before time, which had no existence previous to the creation of sensible things. The creation of angels, according to Aquinas, S. T. i. Q. 60. A. 3, was "probabilius" a part of the general creation of the universe, but the first part. Opinions on this point seem, however, to have differed. See below, ll. 37-39.

side of time, outside of all other comprehension, as pleased Him, the eternal Love revealed Himself in new loves. Nor before did He lie as if in torpor; for neither before nor after preceded the moving abroad of God over these waters. Form and matter in conjunction and in purity came forth to an existence which had no erring, as from a three-stringed

Fuor d' ogni altro comprender, come i piacque,
S' aperse in nuovi amor l' eterno amore.[c]
Nè prima quasi torpente si giacque:
Chè nè prima nè poscia precedette[d] 20
Lo discorrer di Dio sopra quest' acque.
Forma e materia congiunte e purette
Usciro ad esser che non avea fallo,[e]

[c] *in nove amori Cass.; in nuovo Amor* 3.
[d] *procedette Gg. Cass.* 1234 *Ald. W.* [e] *ad atto Ald. Bi.*

[17] **comprender**: i.e. local, not mental; as "incomprehensible" in the Athanasian Creed.

[18] The reading *nove*, which has some authority, is rather prosaic. No doubt it came in from xiii. 59.

[20] S. T. i. Q. 10. A. 5: Aeternitas non habet prius et posterius. This seems almost conclusive in favour of the reading **precedette**, which nevertheless has little MS. authority. But the difference between *pro* and *pre* in MS. is so slight that authority is here of less weight than usual.

[21] Gen. i. 2.

[22] The angels are pure form; form conjoined with matter appears in the visible creation; pure matter is not perceivable by the senses, but must be held to exist, and to have been created (S. T. i. Q. 46. A. 2).

[23] **esser** is clearly the right reading, though most modern edd. prefer *atto*. The use of this, however, in any but its strict metaphysical sense would be out of place here, and in that sense it must be reserved for l. 32 sqq. I feel less confident about **ad**, from which, however, there seems to be no variant. To say that in the existence of

bow three arrows; and as in glass in amber or in crystal a ray so shines that from its coming to its being complete there is no interval, so the threefold effect from its Lord flashed all at once into its being, without distinction in its beginning. Order and structure were concreate in the sub-

Come d' arco tricorde tre saette:
E come in vetro in ambra od in cristallo
Raggio risplende, sì che dal venire
All' esser tutto non è intervallo,
Così il triforme effetto dal suo sire
Nell' esser suo raggiò insieme tutto,
Senza distinzion nell' esordire.[f] 30
Concreato fu ordine e costrutto

[f] *distensione* 4; *in esord. Gg.* 145.

created things there was no fault appears to conflict with Dante's view as to the imperfection of nature, expressed in xiii. 76 and elsewhere. Ought we not to read *Uscir da esser*, i.e. from the perfect existence of God? (The form of expression would resemble the *da esser verace* of Purg. xviii. 22.)

25-30 The act of creation was instantaneous. Dante follows P. Lombard, who supports his view by the words of Ecclus. xviii. 1: Qui vivit in aeternum, creavit omnia simul. The contradiction with the account given in Genesis i. is of course only apparent. "Creation" means merely the creation of form and matter, not the arrangement of their combinations in the sensible world. "Creata materia corporalis creaturae, omnia quodammodo sunt creata."—S. T. i. Q. 61. A. 3.

31 **costrutto** must, I think, be a substantive here, as almost always in the D. C. *Concreato e costrutto a*, for *con*, would be a rather awkward turn of phrase, nor does it appear that the prefix has retained its meaning in *costruire*, any more than in the English *construct*. Moreover, it is hard to find any meaning for **costrutto**, if it is a participle, which would not form a tautology with **concreato**. The idea seems to be, "The substances were not only simultaneously created, but also simultaneously put in their places."

stances; and those were the pinnacle of the world, in which pure act was brought forth. Pure potency held the lowest place; in the midst clasped potency with act such bond as never is unbound. Jerome has described for you a long tract of ages, of the angels created before the rest of the world was made: but this truth has been written in many quarters

Alle sustanzie, e quelle furon cima
Del mondo, in che puro atto fu produtto.[g]
Pura potenzia tenne la parte ima;
Nel mezzo strinse potenzia con atto
Tal vime, che giammai non si divima.
Jeronimo vi scrisse lungo tratto
Dei secoli degli Angeli creati
Anzi che l' altro mondo fosse fatto.
Ma questo vero è scritto in molti lati 40

g *Nel m. Gg. Cass.* 123 *Ald.*

32 **quelle**: the angels. According to Aquinas, S. T. i. Q. 50. A. 2, "Deus solus est purus actus," while "in angelo est actus et potentia." Dante seems to keep more closely to the Aristotelian doctrine, as expressed in De An. ii. 2: *τριχῶς γὰρ λεγομένης τῆς οὐσίας . . . ὧν τὸ μὲν εἶδος, τὸ δὲ ὕλη, τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν · τούτων δ' ἡ μὲν ὕλη δύναμις τὸ δὲ εἶδος ἐντελέχεια κ. τ. λ.* The angels, as we know, are *formae separatae*, and thus are purely *ἐντελέχεια* or *ἐνέργεια*.

34 **Pura potenzia**, by parity of reasoning, is matter pure and simple. Cf. the *ultime potenze* of xiii. 61.

35 **potenzia con atto** = the visible creation.

37 St. Jerome, commenting on Titus i. 2, incidentally remarks: Ante haec mundi tempora aeternitatem quandam saeculorum fuisse credendum est, quibus semper cum Filio et Spiritu Sancto fuerit Pater, et ut ita dicam unum tempus Dei est omnis aeternitas, imo innumerabilia tempora sunt cum infinitus sit ipse qui ante tempora omne tempus excedit. Sex millia necdum nostri orbis implentur anni, et quantas prius aeternitates quanta tempora quantas saeculorum origines fuisse arbitrandum est; in quibus Angeli Throni Dominationes ceteraeque virtutes servierint Deo et absque temporum vicibus absque mensuris Deo jubente substiterint. Referring to this passage St. Thomas says

by the writers of the Holy Spirit; and thou wilt see it if thou look aright for it; and also the reason sees it in some measure, for it would not allow that the movers could be so long without their perfect work. Now thou knowest where and when these loves were created, and how; so that already three flames in thy desire are extinguished.

Dagli scrittor dello Spirito Santo;
E tu lo vederai, se bene agguati:
Ed anche la ragion il vede alquanto,
Che non concederebbe che i motori
Sanza sua perfezion fosser cotanto.[h]
Or sai tu dove e quando questi amori
Furon creati, e come; sì che spenti[i]
Nel tuo disio già sono tre ardori.

[h] *fesser Cass. Ald.* [i] *Furon eletti Cass.* 1234 *W.*

(S. T. i. Q. 61. A. 3): Circa hoc invenitur duplex sanctorum doctorum sententia; illa tamen probabilior videtur, quod angeli simul cum creatura corporea sunt creati. Angeli enim sunt quaedam pars universi; non enim constituunt per se unum universum, sed tam ipsi quam creatura corporea in constitutionem unius universi conveniunt. Quod apparet ex ordine unius creaturae ad aliam. Ordo enim rerum adinvicem est bonum universi; nulla autem pars perfecta est a suo toto separata. Hugh of St. Victor took the same view, relying on Ecclus. xviii. 1, quoted above. (Lubin.)

44, 45 If the angels had been created before the heavens they could not have performed their function of moving these, which is necessary to their perfection. (A similar argument used to prove that the angels were few in number is referred to, but set aside in Conv. ii. 5.)—**Perfezion** seems to represent ἐντελέχεια here. Dante may have borrowed the term from the passage quoted above; but this development of the argument seems to be his own.

46 **dove.** As a matter of fact she has said nothing about the *place* in which the angels were created, except what may be implied in l. 32. Aquinas, S. T. i. Q. 61. A. 4, holds that it must have been "in supremo corpore . . . sive id dicatur caelum empyreum, sive qualitercunque nominetur."

"Nor would one come, in counting, to twenty, so quickly as did one part of the angels trouble the nethermost of your elements. The other remained, and began this art that thou discernest, with such delight, that never from its circling does it depart. The beginning of the fall was the accursed pride of him whom thou sawest straitened by all the weights of the world. Those whom thou seest here were modest to call to mind the goodness which had made them ready for so great intelligence; wherefore their vision was

Nè giugneriesi numerando al venti
  Sì tosto, come degli Angeli parte 50
  Turbò il suggetto dei vostri elementi.[k]
L'altra rimase, e cominciò quest' arte
  Che tu discerni, con tanto diletto,
  Che mai dal circuir non si diparte.
Principio del cader fu il maladetto
  Superbir di colui, che tu vedesti
  Da tutti i pesi del mondo costretto.
Quelli che vedi qui furon modesti
  A riconoscer sè della bontate,
  Che gli avea fatti a tanto intender presti: 60
Per che le viste lor furo esaltate

[k] *alimenti Gg.*

49-51 S. T. i. Q. 63. A. 6: Probabilior opinio, et sanctorum dictis magis consonans, est quod statim post primum instans suae creationis diabolus peccaverit.—**suggetto**: the earth. Cf. Inf. xxxiv. 122 sqq.

55, 56 Cf. Purg. xii. 25. S. T. i. Q. 63. A. 2: Peccatum primum angeli non potest esse aliud quam superbia.

56, 57 Inf. xxxiv. 111.

59 Philalethes and Witte seem to understand this as meaning "to recognise that they had their origin in the goodness"; but it is difficult to see how this is to be got out of the words.

60 **intender**; with its special meaning, as in viii. 37, xxvii. 114.

exalted with illuminant grace and with their merit so that they have a complete and steadfast will. And I will that thou doubt not, but be certain, that to receive grace is meritorious, in proportion as the desire is laid open to it. Henceforth thou canst contemplate thy fill concerning this

Con grazia illuminante e con lor merto,
Sì ch' hanno piena e ferma volontate.
E non voglio che dubbi, ma sie certo,
Che ricever la grazia è meritorio,
Secondo che l' affetto gli è aperto.
Omai dintorno a questo consistorio
Puoi contemplare assai, se le parole

[63] S. T. i. Q. 64. A. 2: Voluntas angeli adhaeret fixe et immobiliter. The phraseology of these lines seems to be suggested by a passage of St. Augustine, De Correptione et Gratia, § 32: Angeli sancti, cadentibus aliis per liberum arbitrium, per idem steterunt ipsi, et hujus permansionis mercedem recipere meruerunt, tantam scilicet beatitudinis plenitudinem qua eis certissimum sit semper se in illa esse mansuros. Cf. also Peter Lombard, Sent. ii. 5: Illi quidem conversi sunt et illuminati a Deo gratia apposita.

[64-66] In these lines an answer is given to a question which seems to have occurred to more than one of the early theologians—what had the angels done to deserve their blessedness? Thus Peter Lombard, Sent. *loc. cit.*: Quaeri solet utrum in ipsa confirmatione beati fuerint Angeli an ipsam beatitudinem aliquo modo meruerint. He inclines to the view that so far as the reward was on account of "obsequia nobis exhibita ex Dei obedientia et reverentia" it preceded the service which earned it. Aquinas merely says (S. T. i. Q. 62. A. 4): dicendum est quod gratiam habuit angelus antequam esset beatus, per quam beatitudinem meruit . . . angelus meruit beatitudinem conversione charitatis, quae est per gratiam. Dante seems to have taken this view, and somewhat expanded it. His **affetto** of course represents the *charitas* of Aquinas. The difficulty has clearly been to avoid any expression which might seem to countenance the Pelagian doctrine, "gratiam Dei secundum merita dari," and yet not to fall into a vicious circle. The general question of freewill, merit, and grace, will be found discussed in S. T. ii. 1. Q. 114.

assembly, if my words have been gathered up, without other aid. But whereas on earth through your schools it is taught that the angelic nature is such as understands and remembers and wills, I will say further, in order that thou mayest see in its purity the truth that is there below confused, by an equivocation in teaching of such fashion. These

Mie son ricolte, senz' altro aiutorio.[1]
Ma perchè in terra per le vostre scuole 70
Si legge, che l' angelica natura
E tal che intende e si ricorda e vuole;
Ancor dirò, perchè tu veggi pura
La verità che laggiù si confonde,
Equivocando in sì fatta lettura.

[1] *altro lavoro Ald.*

70-81 The question in what manner angels can be said to possess memory, understanding, and will is considered in S. T. i. QQ. 54–59. The following extracts will serve to show the view taken by Aquinas, and to illustrate Dante's statement of it. I have given them at some length, as they throw light on sundry points of the scholastic philosophy. Q. 54. A. 4 (where the opponent maintains the thesis "quod sit in angelo intellectus agens et possibilis"): Respondeo dicendum quod necessitas ponendi intellectum possibilem in nobis fuit propter hoc quod nos invenimur quandoque intelligentes in potentia et non in actu. Unde oportet esse quandam virtutem quae sit in potentia ad intelligibilia ante ipsum intelligere; sed educitur in actum eorum cum sit sciens, et ulterius cum sit considerans. Et haec virtus vocatur intellectus possibilis. Necessitas autem ponendi intellectum agentem fuit quia naturae rerum materialium quae nos intelligimus . . . . sunt solum intelligibiles in potentia, extra animam existentes. Et ideo oportuit esse aliquam virtutem quae faceret illas naturas intelligibiles actu. Et haec virtus dicitur intellectus agens in nobis. Utraque autem necessitas deest in angelis, quia neque sunt quandoque intelligentes in potentia tantum . . . . sed in actu; intelligunt enim primo et principaliter res immateriales. Et ideo non potest in eis esse intellectus agens et possibilis nisi aequivoce. Q. 55. A. 2: Substantiae superiores, idest angeli, sunt a corporibus totaliter absolutae, immaterialiter et in

substances, since they have had joy of God's countenance, have not turned their sight from it, wherefrom nought is hidden: therefore they have not a vision interrupted by a new object, and therefore no need to remember by means of an abstract concept. So that below there people are dreaming awake, believing and not believing that they say true;

Queste sustanze, poichè fur gioconde
  Della faccia di Dio, non volser viso
  Da essa da cui nulla si nasconde:
Però non hanno vedere interciso[m]
  Da nuovo obbietto, e però non bisogna 80
  Rimemorar per concetto diviso.
Sì che laggiù non dormendo si sogna,
  Credendo e non credendo dicer vero:

[m] *volere interciso Gg.*

esse intelligibili subsistentes; et ideo suam perfectionem intelligibilem consequuntur per intelligibilem effluxum, quo a Deo species rerum cognitarum acceperunt simul cum intellectuali natura; and below: Intellectus angelicus, dato quod posset abstrahere species intelligibiles a rebus materialibus, non tamen abstraheret, quia non indigeret eis, cum habeat species intelligibiles. Q. 57. A. 2: Angeli per species a Deo inditas res cognoscunt non solum quantum ad naturam universalem, sed etiam secundum earum singularitatem. In Q. 58. AA. 4, 5, he shows that "angeli quaecunque cognoscunt, sine discursu" (see note to Purg. xxix. 49) "apprehendunt," and that "angeli non cognoscunt componendo et dividendo." He only touches the question of memory incidentally, allowing that it may be ascribed to them in so far as it resides in the mind; but not as a part of the sensitive soul (Q. 54. A. 5). Albert appears to have treated it more fully.

83, 84 The best interpretation of these rather obscure lines seems to be that of the teachers of false doctrine some were less to blame, as being really persuaded by their own arguments. Others, e.g. Witte, think that the distinction is drawn between those who overrate the faculties of the angels, and those who deny to them powers which men have; the **più colpa** being with the latter. But this is rather weak; and it

but in the one there is more sin and more shame. You go not on earth by one path in your philosophising; so much does the love of the appearance and the thought of it transport you. And yet this is borne here on high with less indignation than when the divine Scripture is put aside, or when it is wrested. None thinks there how much blood it costs to sow it in the world, and how much he pleases who humbly sets himself by its side. For appearance each one uses his wit and makes his inventions, and those are hastened over by the preachers, and the Gospel is silent. One says that the Moon turned itself back in the Passion of Christ, and put

Ma nell' uno è più colpa e più vergogna.
Voi non andate giù per un sentiero,
Filosofando; tanto vi trasporta
L' amor dell' apparenza e il suo pensiero.
Ed ancor questo quassù si comporta
Con men disdegno, che quando è posposta
La divina Scrittura, o quando è torta. 90
Non vi si pensa quanto sangue costa
Seminarla nel mondo, e quanto piace
Chi umilmente con essa s' accosta.
Per apparer ciascun s' ingegna, e face
Sue invenzioni, e quelle son trascorse
Dai predicanti, e il Vangelio si tace.
Un dice che la Luna si ritorse
Nella passion di Cristo, e s' interpose,

can hardly be doubted that Dante was thinking of Aristotle's distinction, in Soph. Elench. 11, between honest and dishonest false reasoners. He is, in fact, about to repeat, with a slight variation, the warning already given in the latter part of Canto xiii. The allusion in l. 90 to ll. 128, 129 of that Canto is obvious.

97 sqq. See for a discussion of the various theories as to the cause of the "darkness over all the earth" at the Crucifixion, S. T. iii. Q. 44.

itself in the way, whereby the light of the Sun extended not down; and another, that the light hid itself of itself: wherefore to the Spaniards and the Indians, as to the Jews, such eclipse corresponded. Florence has not so many Lapos and Bindos as there are fables of this sort cried hither and thither in pulpit; so that the sheep who have no knowledge return from the pasture fed on wind, and it does not

Per che il lume del Sol giù non si porse:
Ed altri che la luce si nascose[n] 100
Da sè; però agl' Ispani e agl' Indi,
Com' ai Giudei, tale eclissi rispose.
Non ha Firenze tanti Lapi e Bindi,
Quante sì fatte favole per anno
In pergamo si gridan quinci e quindi;
Sì che le pecorelle, che non sanno,
Tornan dal pasco pasciute di vento,

[n] *E mente Gg.: mentre Cass.* 1234.

A. 2. St. Thomas himself inclines to the view that it was a miraculous eclipse at the time of full moon, following herein the so-called "Dionysius," who in a letter to Polycarp avers that he himself observed it in Egypt. This, as Scartazzini points out, makes the reading *E mente* in l. 100 impossible, for though the word appears to be used by Petrus Comestor in reference to this theory, Dante would surely never have applied such a term to any opinion maintained by the Angelic Doctor, even though he might think that the question was not one of sufficient importance to be a matter of controversy, or a theme for sermons.

100 **altri**: St. Jerome. See S. T. *loc. cit.* It is curious that Aquinas should have thought that the objection indicated in the next two lines, viz. the absence of universal observation, applied rather to the theory of an eclipse, or to Origen's notion, that the darkness was due to clouds, than, as Dante rightly sees it did, to the supposition that the sun withdrew its light.

103 **Lapo** and **Bindo** were popular abbreviations of Jacopo and Aldobrando.

excuse them that they see not their loss. Christ said not to His first company, Go and preach to the world idle tales; but gave them a foundation of truth; and that sounded so mightily in their mouths that to fight for kindling of the Faith, they made of the Gospel shields and lances. Now men go with jests and with railleries to preach, and so long as there is a good laugh, the cowl puffs out, and no more is asked. But a bird is nesting in the hood, such that if the crowd saw it, they would see the pardoning wherein they trust; through which, so great folly has increased upon

E non le scusa non veder lo danno.°
Non disse Cristo al suo primo convento,
Andate e predicate al mondo ciance, 110
Ma diede lor verace fondamento:
E quel tanto sonò nelle sue guance
Sì che a pugnar, per accender la fede,
Dell' Evangelio fero scudi e lance.
Ora si va con motti e con iscede
A predicare, e pur che ben si rida,
Gonfia il cappuccio, e più non si richiede.
Ma tale uccel nel becchetto s' annida,
Che se il volgo il vedesse, vederebbe
La perdonanza, di che si confida:[p] 120
Per cui tanta stoltezza in terra crebbe,

° *il non veder Gg.; lor danno Ald.*
[p] *di che 'l sì conf. Gg. Cass.* 12345.

118 **uccel**: the devil.—**becchetto**: the tail of the hood, which was thrown over the shoulder. It is a familiar feature in the early Florentine costume.

121 sqq. Compare the story of Frate Cipolla in the Decameron, Day vi. Nov. 10. The somewhat ribald stories of Boccaccio and Sacchetti offer many interesting parallels to Dante's graver denunciations. It may be noted that Cipolla is a "frate di santo Antonio."

earth, that without proof of any testimony they would flock to every promise. By this grows fat the pig of St. Anthony, and others in plenty who are still more of pigs, paying in money without a stamp.

"But seeing that we have digressed enough, turn back thine eyes now towards the direct road, so that the way may be shortened with the time. This nature is so graded in

Che sanza pruova d' alcun testimonio
Ad ogni promession si converrebbe.
Di questo ingrassa il porco Sant' Antonio,
Ed altri assai che son ancor più porci,[q]
Pagando di moneta sanza conio.
Ma perchè siam digressi assai, ritorci
Gli occhi oramai verso la dritta strada,
Sì che la via col tempo si raccorci.
Questa natura sì oltre s' ingrada 130

[q] *ancor che son assai Cass.* 3 *W. Ald.; assai che son peggio che p.* 124 *Bi.*

124 It seems better to take **ingrassa** as intransitive (like *imbruna*, Purg. iv. 21), rather than with some comm. to render "St. Anthony fattens his pig," which, as Blanc points out, would be hardly respectful to the saint. The omission of the mark of the genitive before a proper name is less common in Italian than in French; but it is not unexampled (see Diez iii. 129). P. di Dante has "Unde porcus sancti Antonii, etc." This St. Anthony is of course not he of Padua, but the famous hermit of Egypt. The reason of the pig as his attribute is somewhat obscure, but it may be from the power ascribed to him of warding off diseases from cattle. (Philalethes.)

126 I.e. promising unauthorised indulgences.

130 sqq. Speculations as to the number of the angels seem to have been common, as may be inferred from the allusion in xiii. 98. Aquinas discusses the question, S. T. i. Q. 50. A. 3, concluding that "Angeli cum longe perfectiores sint corporalibus creaturis, in quadam maxima multitudine sunt omnem materialem multitudinem excedentes." The germ of the whole doctrine of angels is to be found in Met. λ. 8, where

number onward that never was speech nor mortal conception which should go so far. And if thou regard that which is revealed through Daniel, thou wilt see that in his thousands a determinate number is hidden. The primal light which irradiates it all is received into it in modes as manifold as the splendours to which it is mated. Wherefore, since the affection follows on the act which conceives, the sweetness of love has warmth and fervour diversely in it. Thou seest henceforth the height and the breadth of the

In numero, che mai non fu loquela,
Nè concetto mortal, che tanto vada.
E se tu guardi quel che si rivela
Per Daniel, vedrai che in sue migliaia
Determinato numero si cela.
La prima luce, che tutta la raia,
Per tanti modi in essa si ricepe,
Quanti son gli splendori a che s' appaia.
Onde, però che all' atto che concepe
Segue l' affetto, d' amor la dolcezza[r] 140
Diversamente in essa ferve e tepe.[s]
Vedi l' eccelso omai, e la larghezza

[r] *d' amar Gg.* 1234. [s] *in esse si concepe Ald.*(1).

Aristotle discusses the question, what is the number of the movers of the heavenly bodies? These were in course of time identified with the Divine messengers of Holy Scripture.

[134] See Dan. vii. 10: Millia millium ministrabant ei, et decies millies centena millia assistebant ei.

[135] **si cela**: i.e. is not revealed.

[136] **la**: sc. *natura.*

[138] As Philalethes points out, Aquinas has proved (S. T. i. Q. 50. A. 4) that angels, not being compounded of form and matter, must differ from each other in species; it being as impossible to have two angels of the same species as to have two whitenesses or two humanities.

eternal Goodness, since it has made for itself so many mirrors wherein it is broken up, remaining in itself one as heretofore."

Dell' eterno valor, poscia che tanti
Speculi fatti s' ha in che si spezza,
Uno manendo in sè come davanti.

[144] S. T. i. Q. 56. A. 3 : Ipsa angelica natura est quoddam speculum divinam similitudinem repraesentans : (quoted above, xiii. 59).

NOTE TO LINE 4.

A little explanation seems to be called for of my reasons for differing from most modern editors in preferring "che li tiene in libra" to "che il zenit inlibra." The MSS., as Dr. Moore informs me, are (most appropriately) exactly balanced between the two readings ; so that we have only to consider on which side is the greater probability of alteration. Now it seems very possible that if Dante wrote "Quant' è dal punto che li tiene in libra," some annotators, not seeing that **punto** referred to time, not to place, and perhaps wishing to display their knowledge of astronomical terms, should have noted, "i.e. zenit"—as, indeed, the Cassinese postillator has done. Or, again, some one writing his notes in Latin, may have got *tenet* over *tiene;* and looking to the similarity in form of *t* and *c* on one hand, and *z* and *c* on the other, the alteration may have crept in so. But if "che il zenit inlibra" be the right reading, there is first the difficulty of *inlibra* being intransitive, verbs of this form, when compounded with substantives, being always, so far as I know, transitive ; secondly, if it be transitive, that of finding its object ; for *che* is excluded, since the zenith could not be said to keep the *point*, whether of place or of time, balanced ; and thirdly that of supposing that any one could have failed to see this, and so noted to *inlibra*, "i.e. tenet inlibratum," or the like, from which *tiene* could have been introduced. Bianchi's *i libra* has little authority.

CANTO XXX.

ARGUMENT.

They rise to the highest or Empyrean heaven, where a great brightness surrounds them. Paradise appears, first as a river of light; then, as Dante sees more clearly, in the form of a rose, whose leaves are the seats of the blessed.

PERHAPS six thousand miles away from us the sixth hour is seething, and this world is already inclining its shadow almost to the level plane, when to us the midst of heaven in its depth begins to grow such that some star loses its appearance at the distance of this base; and as the brightest

FORSE semilia miglia di lontano
  Ci ferve l' ora sesta, e questo mondo
  China già l' ombra, quasi al letto piano,[a]
Quando il mezzo del cielo a noi profondo
  Comincia a farsi tal, che alcuna stella
  Perde il parere infino a questo fondo:
E come vien la chiarissima ancella

[a] *Chinava Gg.*

1-6 As we learn from Conv. iii. 5 and iii. 8, Dante took the circumference of the earth to be 20,400 miles. Therefore when it is noon (**l' ora sesta**) 6,000 miles away, it is just before sunrise where we are, and the shadow of the earth lies almost along the plane passing through the sun and our point of view, while the stars begin to vanish in the dawn.

7 **ancella**: the dawn.

handmaid of the sun advances, so the heaven closes from view to view, even unto the fairest. Not otherwise the triumph which ever plays around the point which overcame me, seeming enclosed by that which it encloses, little by little was extinguished to my sight; so that to return with my eyes to Beatrice lack of seeing and love constrained me. If whatsoever up to this point is said of her should all be concluded in one praise, it would be too little to furnish forth this occasion. The beauty which I beheld is beyond measure; not beyond us only, but I think of a truth that its Maker alone enjoys it in its fulness. By this passage I

Del Sol più oltre, così il ciel si chiude
Di vista in vista in fino alla più bella;
Non altrimenti 'l trionfo che lude 10
Sempre dintorno al punto che mi vinse,
Parendo inchiuso da quel ch' egl' inchiude,
A poco a poco al mio veder si stinse:[b]
Per che tornar con gli occhi a Beatrice
Nulla vedere ed amor mi costrinse.
Se quanto infino a qui di lei si dice,
Fosse conchiuso tutto in una loda,
Poco sarebbe a fornir questa vice.
La bellezza ch' io vidi, si trasmoda,
Non pur di là da noi, ma certo io credo 20
Che solo il suo fattor tutta la goda.

[b] *il mio v. Cass.* 1234.

9 **vista**: of the stars. So *vedute*, ii. 115. (See note, xxiii. 30.)

11 **punto**: xxviii. 16.

12 Because, as we have seen, the point represents God, in whom all things are contained.

16 sqq. Here, on the threshold of the highest heaven, the human mind must abandon the attempt to keep pace any longer with the study of Divine things. Cf. i. 7–9.

21 Conv. ii. 4: Questo quieto e pacifico cielo è lo luogo di quella somma Deità *che sè sola compiutamente vede.*

own myself conquered, more than ever comedian or tragedian was overcome by a point of his subject. For as does the sun to the sight that trembles most, so the remembrance of the sweet smile cuts my mind from itself. From the first day that I saw her countenance in this life, until this view, my song has not had its pursuit cut short; but now my pursuit must needs leave off from further following her beauty in verse, as in regard to his end must every craftsman.

Da questo passo vinto mi concedo
  Più che giammai da punto di suo tema
  Soprato fosse comico, o tragedo.
Chè, come Sole in viso che più trema,[c]
  Così lo rimembrar del dolce riso
  La mente mia da sè medesma scema.[d]
Dal primo giorno, ch' io vidi 'l suo viso
  In questa vita, insino a questa vista,
  Non è il seguire al mio cantar preciso : 30
Ma or convien, che il mio seguir desista
  Più dietro a sua bellezza poetando,[e]
  Come all' ultimo suo ciascuno artista.

[c] *come in S. il v. Cass.; come S. il v. Ald. Bi.*
[d] *da me medesma Gg. Cass.* [e] *Più dentro Gg.*

[22] **vinto** : so Inf. v. 132.

[28-30] As Philalethes points out, he seems here to overlook the various occasions (xiv. 79–81 ; xviii. 9–12 ; xxiii. 24, and 49–60) on which he has professed himself unable to describe the increasing beauty of Beatrice and her smile. However, in each case he has hitherto found some means of indicating his meaning, and has passed on to yet higher developments ; now, he would say, the highest point is reached, and his powers of expression must finally stop short of the thing to be expressed. **Più** must, I think, certainly be taken with **poetando**, not, as the arrangement of the words seems at first to suggest, with **dietro**.

[33] A friend draws my attention to a very similar thought in Cicero,

Such as I leave her to a mightier proclaiming than that of my trumpet, which is drawing out to a limit its arduous matter, with gesture and voice of a leader freed from his task she began again: "We are issued forth from the greatest body to the heaven which is pure light; light of understanding full of love, love of true good full of joy, joy that surpasses every sweetness. Here thou shalt see the one and the other soldiery of Paradise, and the one

Cotal, qual' io la lascio a maggior bando
  Che quel della mia tuba, che deduce
  L' ardua sua materia terminando,
Con atto e voce di spedito duce
  Ricominciò: Noi semo usciti fuore[f]
  Del maggior corpo al ciel ch' è pura luce:[g]
Luce intellettual piena d' amore, 40
  Amor di vero ben pien di letizia,
  Letizia che trascende ogni dolzore.
Qui vederai l' una e l' altra milizia
  Di Paradiso, e l' una in quegli aspetti,

[f] *noi stiamo Gg.* [g] *vera luce Gg.* 124.

Orator 8: Sed ego sic statuo, nihil esse in ullo genere tam pulcrum, quo non pulcrius id sit, unde illud ut ex ore aliquo quasi imago exprimatur, quod neque oculis neque auribus neque ullo sensu percipi potest, cogitatione tantum et mente complectimur. He goes on, as Dante does, to illustrate by the case of the artist.

37 **spedito:** as in xvii. 100.

39 I.e. from the Primum Mobile—the largest of the heavenly *bodies*—to the Empyrean heaven. S. T. i. Q. 66. A. 3: Potest dici quod habet lucem caelum empyreum non condensatam ut radios emittat, sicut corpus solis, sed magis subtilem; vel habet claritatem gloriae, quae non est conformis cum claritate naturali.

40, 42 Light, love, joy, are the complements of faith, love, hope.

43 **l' una e l' altra milizia:** "the spirits of just men made perfect," and "the innumerable company of angels."

in those aspects which thou wilt behold at the last judgement."

As a sudden flash which breaks up the visual spirits so that it deprives the eye of operation in regard to objects of much strength, so did a living light shine around me, and left me swathed in such a veil of its brightness, that naught was apparent to me. "Ever the Love which keeps the heaven in peace, receives into itself with a salutation in such sort, to make the torch disposed for its flame." No sooner had these brief words entered within me, than I

Che tu vedrai all' ultima giustizia.
Come subito lampo, che discetti
Gli spiriti visivi, sì che priva
Dell' atto l' occhio di più forti obbietti ;[h]
Così mi circonfulse luce viva,
E lasciommi fasciato di tal velo 50
Del suo fulgor, che nulla m' appariva.
Sempre l' amore che quieta il cielo,[i]
Accoglie in sè con sì fatta salute,[k]
Per far disposto a sua fiamma il candelo.
Non fur più tosto dentro a me venute
Queste parole brevi, ch' io compresi

[h] *deï più Gg.* 3. [i] *amor chi queta questo c.* 124 *Bi.*
[k] *così f.* 3 *Ald. W.* (In MSS. indistinguishable.)

44, 45 I.e. the blessed are seen no longer as lights, but in bodily shape. Cf. xiv. 37 sqq. ; xxii. 60 sqq.

47 **spiriti visivi :** see xxvi. 71.

48 **più** as in Inf. v. 130 and elsewhere ; without comparative force.

52 **quieta** ; see note, l. 21.—The reading *queta questo* is certainly, as Scartazzini says, much the more satisfactory ; but authority is against it. We must understand Dante to be using **il cielo** in the first of the three meanings which Aristotle, de Caelo i. 9, ascribes to *οὐρανὸς*, viz. *τὸ ἔσχατον καὶ ἄνω μάλιστα ἐν ᾧ τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἱδρῦσθαί φαμεν.*

53 **salute :** as in V. N. § 11.

understood that I was rising above my own virtue; and I was rekindled with fresh vision, such that no light is so pure but my eyes would have resisted it. And I beheld a light in form of a river, resplendent with splendours, between two banks painted with a wondrous spring. From such stream were issuing living sparks, and on all sides were settling on the flowers like rubies which gold encircles. Then, as though inebriate with the odours they would plunge again in the wondrous torrent; and if one was entering another would issue forth. "The high desire which now enflames thee and urges thee to have knowledge of that

Me sormontar di sopra a mia virtute;
E di novella vista mi raccesi
Tale, che nulla luce è tanto mera,[1]
Che gli occhi miei non si fosser difesi; 60
E vidi lume in forma di riviera
Fulgido di fulgori, intra due rive,[m]
Dipinte di mirabil primavera.
Di tal fiumana uscian faville vive,
E d' ogni parte si mettean nei fiori,
Quasi rubini che oro circonscrive.
Poi, come inebriate dagli odori,
Riprofondavan sè nel miro gurge,
E s' una entrava, un' altra n' uscìa fuori.
L' alto disio, che mo t' infiamma ed urge 7
D' aver notizia di ciò che tu vei,

[1] *Tanto che Gg.* [m] *Fluido Bi.; Fulvido Cass.* 3 *Ald.; Fluvido* 124.

[62] If we take the reading *fulvido*, we must understand "tawny," i.e. "golden." But though we have "fulvum aurum" more than once in Virgil, there is no such word in Latin as "fulvidus," nor is it, I think, a possible form; the termination *-idus* always implying a verb.

[63] Cf. xxviii. 116.

which thou seest, pleases me the more as it more swells. Out of this water it behoves that thou drink before so great a thirst is sated in thee;" thus said to me the Sun of my eyes. She added moreover: "The river, and the topazes which enter and come out, and the smiling of the herbs, are preludes bearing a shadow of their truth; not that these things are of themselves unripe, but it is a defect on thy part, that thou hast not powers of sight yet so exalted." There is no babe that flies so quickly with his countenance toward the milk, if he awake belated much beyond his wont, as did I, to make yet better mirrors of my eyes, bow-

Tanto mi piace più, quanto più turge.
Ma di quest' acqua convien, che tu bei
Prima che tanta sete in te si sazii:
Così mi disse il Sol degli occhi miei.
Anche soggiunse: Il fiume, e li topazii,
Ch' entran ed escon, e il rider dell' erbe
Son di lor vero ombriferi prefazii:[n]
Non che da sè sien queste cose acerbe;
Ma è difetto dalla parte tua, 80
Che non hai viste ancor tanto superbe.
Non è fantin che sì subito rua
Col volto verso il latte, se si svegli
Molto tardato dall' usanza sua,
Come fec' io, per far migliori spegli
Ancor degli occhi, chinandomi all' onda,

[n] *ubriferi Gg.* 1234; *uberiferi Cass.*

[78] Because, as presently appears, what he takes for a river is a lake of light, the jewel-like sparks are angels, and the flowers are blessed spirits.

[82] Cf. Purg. xxx. 44. All this passage is evidently intended to recall, and contrast with, the description of the terrestrial Paradise.

ing me to the wave which flows down that one may enter into better things thereat. And whenas the eaves of my eyelashes drank of it, right so it appeared to me from its length to have become round. Then as folk who have been beneath masks, that appear other than before, if they strip off the likeness not their own wherein they disappeared; in such wise were changed for me into greater rejoicings the flowers and the sparks, so that I beheld both the cohorts of heaven manifest.

O splendour of God, through whom I beheld the high triumph of the realm of truth, grant me virtue to tell how I beheld it. Light is there on high, which makes visible the Creator to that creation which only in seeing Him has its

Che si deriva perchè vi s' immegli.
E sì come di lei bevve la gronda °
Delle palpebre mie, così mi parve
Di sua lunghezza divenuta tonda. 90
Poi come gente stata sotto larve,
Che pare altro che prima, se si sveste
La sembianza non sua in che disparve;
Così mi si cambiaro in maggior feste
Li fiori e le faville, sì ch' io vidi
Ambo le corti del ciel manifeste.
O isplendor di Dio, per cu' io vidi
L' alto trionfo del regno verace,
Dammi virtù a dir com' io lo vidi.
Lume è lassù, che visibile face 100
Lo Creatore a quella creatura,
Che solo in lui vedere ha la sua pace:

° *bever Gg.*

97 Cf. again Purg. xxxi. 139. Observe the repetition of **vidi,** as though to emphasize the beatific vision upon which he is now entering.

peace; and is spread forth in a circular figure so far that its circumference would be too wide a girdle for the sun. All that appears of it is made of a ray reflected upon the summit of the First Moved, which takes thence life and potency. And as a hill in water at its base mirrors itself as though to see itself in its adornment, how rich it is in greenery and in flowers; so standing over the light around and about I saw mirrored more than a thousand thrones, all of us that have returned on high. And if the lowest degree embraces within itself so great a light, what is the breadth of this rose in its outermost leaves? In the breadth and in the height my view was not lost, but took in wholly

E si distende in circular figura
  In tanto, che la sua circònferenza
  Sarebbe al sol troppo larga cintura.
Fassi di raggio tutta sua parvenza,
  Reflesso al sommo del mobile primo,
  Che prende quindi vivere e potenza.
E come clivo in acqua di suo imo
  Si specchia quasi per vedersi adorno, 110
  Quanto è nel verde e nei fioretti opimo,
Sì soprastando al lume intorno intorno
  Vidi specchiarsi in più di mille soglie,
  Quanto da noi lassù fatto ha ritorno.
E se l' infimo grado in sè raccoglie
  Sì grande lume, quant' è la larghezza
  Di questa rosa nell' estreme foglie?
La vista mia nell' ampio e nell' altezza
  Non si smarriva, ma tutto prendeva

107 How there can be a highest point where place does not exist, is a difficulty which does not seem to have occurred to Dante.

the degree and the kind of that blitheness. Near and far there neither adds nor takes away; seeing that where God governs without means, the natural law has no relevancy.

Into the yellow of the everlasting rose, which spreads itself, rises in steps, and sends forth a sweet odour of praise to the Sun who is ever in spring, did Beatrice draw me, like one who is silent and would speak; and said: "Look how great is the assembly of the white garments. Behold our city, how great is its circuit: behold there our stalls so full, that few folk hereafter are awaited. In that great seat on which thou hast thine eyes, by reason of the crown which already is placed over it, ere thou shalt sup at this wedding-feast, will sit the soul, which on earth shall be imperial, of the

Il quanto e il quale di quella allegrezza. 120
Presso e lontano lì nè pon nè leva;
Che dove Dio senza mezzo governa,
La legge natural nulla rilieva.
Nel giallo della rosa sempiterna,
Che si dilata, digrada e ridole
Odor di lode al Sol che sempre verna,
Qual' è colui che tace e dicer vuole,
Mi trasse Beatrice, e disse: Mira
Quanto è il convento delle bianche stole,
Vedi nostra città, quanto ella gira! 130
Vedi li nostri scanni sì ripieni,
Che poca gente omai ci si disira.[p]
In quel gran seggio, a che tu gli occhi tieni,[q]
Per la corona che già v' è su posta,
Prima che tu a queste nozze ceni,
Sederà l' alma, che fia giù agosta,

[p] *gente piu ci si Gg.*
[q] *E* (or *et*) *quel Gg. Cass.* 12345; *segno Gg.*

high Henry who will come to set Italy straight before that she shall be ready. The blind covetousness which bewitches you has made you like the child who is dying of hunger and drives away his nurse. And there shall be as president in God's court at that time such an one that openly or in secret shall not go with him on one road. But short while thereafter shall he be suffered by God in his holy office: for he shall be thrust down to that place where Simon Magus is for his deserts, and he shall make him of Alagna go down lower."

Dell' alto Arrigo, ch' a drizzare Italia
Verrà in prima ch' ella sia disposta.
La cieca cupidigia, che v' ammalia,
Simili fatti v' ha al fantolino, 140
Che muor di fame e caccia via la balia;
E fia Prefetto nel foro divino
Allora tal, che palese e coverto
Non anderà con lui per un cammino.
Ma poco poi sarà da Dio sofferto
Nel santo uficio; ch' ei sarà detruso
Là dove Simon mago è per suo merto,
E farà quel d' Alagna andar più giuso.[r]

[r] *esser p. g. Gg. Cass. Ald. W.; intrar* 1245.

137 See note, xvii. 82, which also explains the allusion in ll. 143, 144.

139 As usual, e.g. xxvii. 121, he makes covetousness, especially in the rulers of the Church, the root of all evils.

148 See Inf. xix. 84, and throughout.—**Alagna**: Purg. xx. 86. With this bitter denunciation of Boniface and Clement, Beatrice resigns her charge of Dante. As will be seen in the next Canto, she now resumes her place among the blessed.

CANTO XXXI.

ARGUMENT.

The company of saints appears in the figure of a white rose, about which the angels fly. Beatrice returns to her own place among them; and St. Bernard takes up the office of guide, first drawing Dante's attention to the point where sits the Blessed Virgin Mary.

In form then of a white rose was displayed to me the soldiery of saints, which in His own blood Christ espoused. But the other which in flying beholds and sings the glory of Him who fills it with love, and the goodness which made it of so great number, like a swarm of bees which one

In forma dunque di candida rosa
  Mi si mostrava la milizia santa,
  Che nel suo sangue Cristo fece sposa.
Ma l' altra, che volando vede e canta
  La gloria di colui che l' innamora,
  E la bontà che la fece cotanta;
Sì come schiera d' api, che s' infiora

[7] P. di Dante quotes Aen. i. 430 sqq., but a better parallel is vi. 707 sqq., of the souls on the bank of Lethe:

Ac velut in pratis ubi apes aestate serena
Floribus insidunt variis, et candida circum
Lilia funduntur, strepit omnis murmure campus.
Horrescit visu subito, causasque requirit
Inscius Aeneas, quae sint ea flumina porro,
Quive viri tanto complerint agmine ripas.

while is within the flowers, and one while returns to the place where its work grows savourous, was descending into the great flower which is adorned with such leaves, and thence was rising again there where its love ever sojourns. All had their faces of living flame and their wings of gold, and the rest so white that no snow reaches that limit. When they lit on the flower, from bench to bench they dispensed of the peace and of the ardour, which they had gained as they fanned their flanks. Nor did the interposition between the summit and the flower of so great a plenitude in flight

Una fiata, ed una si ritorna [a]
Là dove suo lavoro s' insapora,
Nel gran fior discendeva, che s' adorna 10
Di tante foglie, e quindi risaliva
Là dove il suo amor sempre soggiorna.
Le facce tutte avean di fiamma viva,
E l' ali d' oro, e l' altro tanto bianco,
Che nulla neve a quel termine arriva:
Quando scendean nel fior di banco in banco,
Porgevan della pace e dell' ardore,
Ch' elli acquistavan ventilando il fianco.
Nè l' interporsi tra il disopra e il fiore
Di tanta plenitudine volante [b] 20

[a] *altra si r. Gg. Cass.* [b] *moltitudine Gg. Cass.*

10-12 Philalethes sees in this an allusion to the "illumination" of the lower orders of angels by the higher (S. T. i. Q. 106), which he would extend to the spirits of the blessed. But it hardly seems necessary to go beyond Dante's own thought, expressed in l. 17, that the function of the angels is to communicate the peace and love of God.

13.15 "Rubedo in facie figurat ardorem charitatis: deauratio in alis figurat sapientiam: dorsum album, potentiam: et sic ad Trinitatem."—P. di D. Compare the colours of the mystical Grifon in Purg. xxix.

20 The use of **plenitudine**, not common in this sense, is perhaps intended to recall "pleni sunt caeli et terra."

hinder the view and the splendour, for the light of God is penetrant through the universe according as it is worthy, so that naught can be a hindrance to it.

This secure and joyous realm, thick-peopled with folk of old time and new, held sight and love all towards one mark. O threefold light, which in a single star sparkling on their view dost so give them peace, look hither down upon our tempest! If the Barbarians coming from such region as every day is covered by the Bear, revolving with her son of

Impediva la vista e lo splendore:
Chè la luce divina è penetrante
Per l' universo, secondo ch' è degno,
Sì che nulla le puote essere ostante.
Questo sicuro e gaudioso regno
Frequente in gente antica ed in novella,
Viso ed amore avea tutto ad un segno.
O trina luce, che in unica stella
Scintillando a lor vista sì gli appaga,
Guarda quaggiuso alla nostra procella. 30
Se i Barbari, venendo da tal plaga,
Che ciascun giorno d' Elice si cuopra,
Rotante col suo figlio, ond' ella è vaga,

[22, 23] Cf. i. 1–3.

[29] **appaga.** This seems to be a solitary example of what must have been the original form of the second person.

[32, 33] Helice is the Great Bear (Ov. Fast. iii. 108), and so is identified both here and in Purg. xxv. 131, with Callisto, the nymph who became the mother of Arcas by Jupiter. She was metamorphosed into a bear by Juno, and then into the constellation by Jupiter; her son becoming Arctophylax, the bearward—called Bootes when the Bear is regarded as a plough or wain. North of lat. 70° or thereabouts both these constellations are always above the horizon. Dante, however, probably does not intend to indicate quite so high a latitude; but merely northern regions generally.

whom she is fain, when they saw Rome and its high works were astounded, what time Lateran took precedence of mortal affairs, I, who to the divine from the human, to the eternal from time was come, and from Florence to a people righteous and sane, with what astonishment must I needs have been filled! Surely this and my joy together made it well-pleasing to me to hear not and to stand mute. And like a pilgrim who is refreshed gazing around in the temple of his vow, and

Veggendo Roma e l' ardua sua opra
  Stupefacensi, quando Laterano
  Alle cose mortali andò di sopra;
Io, che al divino dall' umano,
  All' eterno dal tempo era venuto,
  E di Fiorenza in popol giusto e sano,
Di che stupor dovea esser compiuto! 40
  Certo tra esso e il gaudio mi facea
  Libito non udire e starmi muto.
E quasi peregrin, che si ricrea
  Nel tempio del suo voto riguardando,[c]

[c] *tempo Gg.* (alt. fr. *tempio*) 14.

35, 36 I.e. at the Jubilee in 1300; when, as Villani (viii. 36) tells us, "avea in Roma, oltre al popolo romano, duecentomila pellegrini." This at least seems the more probable explanation, for if, with Buti, Landino, Philalethes, and others, we understand the meaning to be "when Rome was at the head of the world," it is hard to see why the Lateran should be introduced. In the other case, it has a special propriety here, as being at that time the papal residence. Lubin understands the meaning to be "in the days when the Popes cared nothing for worldly affairs," and the allusion to be to the original barbarian invaders.

37 Bianchi remarks on the effect of deliberation produced by the dissyllable **io** and the unelided **che**. Cf. l. 47.

39 This one bitter line, the last allusion to Florence in the poem, carries the reader back to the sarcasms of Purg. vi. 127 sqq.

43 Observe how the allusion to the pilgrims is kept up; and see note to l. 103.

hopes yet to report how that stands, so as I took my way through the living light, I passed my eyes over the rows, now up, now down, and now circling again. I beheld countenances persuading to charity, adorned with another's light and with their own smile, and gestures ornate with every dignity.

The general form of Paradise my gaze had already comprehended in its whole, as yet stayed fixedly on no part, and I was turning with rekindled will to ask my Lady of things whereof my mind was in suspense. One thing was my intention, and another replied to me; I thought to see Beatrice, and I saw an Elder clad like the folk in

E spera già ridir com' egli stea,
Sì per la viva luce passeggiando,
Menava io gli occhi per li gradi
Mo su, mo giù, e mo ricirculando.[d]
Vedeva a carità visi suadi
D' altrui lume fregiati e del suo riso, 50
E d' atti ornati di tutte onestadi.
La forma general di Paradiso
Già tutta mio sguardo avea compresa,
In nulla parte ancor fermato fiso;[e]
E volgeami con voglia riaccesa
Per dimandar la mia Donna di cose
Di che la mente mia era sospesa.
Uno intendeva, ed altro mi rispose;
Credea veder Beatrice, e vidi un sene

[d] *Or—or—or* 3 *Bi.*

[e] *al fiso parte già Cass.; E in nulla* 2 *W.; viso Cass.* 1234 *Ald.; il viso W.*

51 Cf. Purg. iii. 11.

59 **sene.** This is St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux. He was born at Fontaines in Burgundy, 1091. At the age of twenty-two he joined

glory. He was overspread in the eyes and in the cheeks with a benign joy, in gesture kind as befits a tender father. And "Where is she?" quickly said I. Wherefore he: "To put an end to thy desire did Beatrice move

Vestito con le genti gloriose. 60
Diffuso era per gli occhi e per le gene
Di benigna letizia, in atto pio,
Quale a tenero padre si conviene.
Ed, Ov' è ella? di subito diss' io:[f]
Ond' egli: A terminar lo tuo disiro,
Mosse Beatrice me del luogo mio:

[f] *Ed: Ella ov' è? Ald. W. Bi.*

the then newly-founded community of Citeaux, and two years later was selected by the Abbot, St. Stephen Harding, to be the head of the branch which it was proposed to establish at Clairvaux. From this time till his death in 1153 he is one of the most prominent figures in the history of his time. The counsellor, and, on occasion, the fearless upbraider of Popes; the defender of the see of Peter against schismatic intruders; the preacher of a great crusade; the champion of what was then held to be the orthodox philosophy against such able innovators as Gilbert de la Porrée and Abelard; "probably," says Archbishop Trench, "no man during his lifetime exercised a *personal* influence in Christendom equal to his. . . . He seems to have exercised a well-nigh magical influence upon all those with whom he was brought into contact." For the details of his career, see Mr. Morison's "Life and Times of St. Bernard."

60 **Vestito con:** so (according to the common reading) Purg. xxix. 145.

61, 62 The following description of St. Bernard is given by Alan, Bishop of Auxerre: Apparebat in carne ejus gratia quaedam, spiritualis tamen potius quam carnalis; in vultu claritas praefulgebat, non terrena utique, sed caelestis; in oculis angelica quaedam puritas et columbina simplicitas radiabat. Ipsa etiam subtilissima cutis in genis modice rubens, etc. So in the case of Matilda, who performs in Purgatory a similar office to that of St. Bernard here, we have, in the *ridea* of Purg. xxviii. 67, an allusion to a personal characteristic; for the smile of the great Countess is specially mentioned by her biographer.

me from my place; and if thou lookest up to the third circle from the highest step, thou wilt see her again in the throne which her deserts have gained for her by lot." Without answering I raised my eyes, and I beheld how she made for herself a crown, reflecting from herself the eternal rays. From that region where the thunder is highest, no mortal eye is so far distant, into whatsoever sea it is let go deepest, as was Beatrice there from my view; but it mattered naught to me, for her likeness came not down to me diluted by intervening space. "O Lady, in whom my hope is strong, and who didst endure for my salvation to leave thy footprints in Hell, for all the things that I have seen I own the grace and the virtue

E se riguardi su nel terzo giro
  Dal sommo grado, tu la rivedrai
  Nel trono che i suoi merti le sortiro.
Senza risponder gli occhi su levai, 70
  E vidi lei che si facea corona,
  Riflettendo da sè gli eterni rai.
Da quella region che più su tuona,
  Occhio mortale alcun tanto non dista,
  Qualunque in mare più giù s' abbandona,
Quanto lì da Beatrice la mia vista:
  Ma nulla mi facea; chè sua effige
  Non discendeva a me per mezzo mista.
O Donna, in cui la mia speranza vige,
  E che soffristi per la mia salute, 80
  In Inferno lasciar le tue vestige;
Di tante cose, quante io ho vedute,
  Dal tuo podere e dalla tua bontate

[78] **mezzo**: as in Purg. xxix. 45. [81] See Inf. ii. 52 sqq.

by thy power and by thy goodness. Thou hast from a slave drawn me to liberty through all those ways, through all the modes which had the power to do that. Preserve the great work that thou hast wrought in me, so that my soul which thou hast healed may be unloosed from the body well-pleasing to thee." Thus I prayed; and she, so far away as it appeared, smiled and looked upon me; then she turned back to the eternal fountain. And the holy Elder said: "To the end that thou mayest accomplish perfectly thy journey, whereto prayer and holy love commissioned me, flit with thine eyes over this garden; for to behold it will set thy gaze in more order to mount

Riconosco la grazia e la virtute.
Tu m' hai di servo tratto a libertate
Per tutte quelle vie, per tutt' i modi,
Che di ciò fare avean la potestate.[g]
La tua magnificenza in me custodi,
Sì che l' anima mia, che fatta hai sana,
Piacente a te dal corpo si disnodi. 90
Così orai; e quella sì lontana,
Come parea, sorrise, e riguardommi;
Poi si tornò all' eterna fontana.
E il santo Sene: Acciocchè tu assommi
Perfettamente, disse, il tuo cammino,
A che priego ed amor santo mandommi,
Vola con gli occhi per questo giardino:
Chè veder lui t' acconcierà lo sguardo[h]

[g] *avei Cass.* 1234 *W.*
[h] *t' accovera Ald.; t' accuerà Dan.; t' accenderà Bi. Giul.*

85 Cf. Purg. i. 71.
93 Cf. the concluding words of the Vita Nuova.

up through the divine ray. And the Queen of Heaven for whom I am wholly on fire with love, will do us every favour, because I am her faithful Bernard."

As is he, who haply from Croatia comes to see our True Image, that for its ancient fame he is not sated, but says in his thought, until it is shown: "My Lord Jesu Christ, very God, was then your likeness so fashioned?" such was I when looking on the lively charity of him who in this world

Più al montar per lo raggio divino.[i]
E la Regina del cielo, ond' io ardo 100
Tutto d' amor, ne farà ogni grazia,
Però ch' io sono il suo fedel Bernardo.
Quale è colui, che forse di Croazia
Viene a veder la Veronica nostra,
Che per l' antica fama non si sazia,[k]
Ma dice nel pensier, fin che si mostra,
Signor mio Gesù Cristo, Dio verace,
Or fu sì fatta la sembianza vostra?
Tale era io mirando la vivace
Carità di colui, che in questo mondo 110

[i] *ver lo raggio Cass.* [k] *sen sazia Gg.*

100 St. Bernard's special devotion to the Virgin appears in his early Homilies on the Annunciation, and in his work "De Laudibus Mariae," composed some years later. William of St. Thierry relates a story of his having been cured by her in a vision of one of his many sicknesses. A picture by Filippino Lippi in the Badia at Florence represents her appearance to him.

103-108 In this beautiful simile there is again another obvious allusion to the Jubilee; when, as Villani (loc. cit.) tells us, "per consolazione de' cristiani pellegrini, si mostrava in San Piero la Veronica del sudario di Cristo." The legend of Veronica is too well known to need repetition. It appears to have sprung from a curious fancy that the name, which is merely another form of Berenice, was in some way derived from *vera icon*, "a true image."

by contemplation tasted of that peace. "Son of grace, this joyous existence," he began, "will not be known to thee by holding thine eyes downward only to the ground; but regard the circles even to the most remote, until thou see the Queen sitting, to whom this realm is subject and devoted." I raised my eyes; and as at morning the eastern quarter of the horizon surpasses that where the sun sets, so, going as it were from vale to mountain with my eyes, I saw a part in the farthest distance outdo in light all the rest in front of

Contemplando gustò di quella pace.
Figliuol di grazia, questo esser giocondo,
Cominciò egli, non ti sarà noto
Tenendo gli occhi pur quaggiuso al fondo;
Ma guarda i cerchi fino al più rimoto,
Tanto che veggi seder la Regina,
Cui questo regno è suddito e divoto.
Io levai gli occhi; e come da mattina
La parte oriental dell' orizzonte
Soverchia quella, dove il sol declina, 120
Così quasi di valle andando a monte
Con gli occhi, vidi parte nello stremo
Vincer di lume tutta l' altra fronte.

[111] The peculiar fitness of St. Bernard for the task here assigned to him, of leading the author through the highest heaven, to the point where he obtains an intuition of the central mystery of the Catholic faith, appears well from a passage of his writings (which P. di Dante quotes in a somewhat garbled form): Patrem namque et Filium cognoscere, vita est aeterna, beatitudo perfecta, summa voluptas. . . . Ita in mente mea quandam imaginem illius summae Trinitatis invenio: ad quam summam Trinitatem recolendam inspiciendam et diligendam, ut ejus recorder, ea delecter, et eam complectar et contempler, totum id quod vivo, debeo referre. (I quote from the note in Lord Vernon's edition of P. di D.)

me. And as in that place where is awaited the polé of the car which Phaethon guided ill, the flame is greater, and on this side and that the light dwindles, so that peaceful oriflamme was quickened in the middle, and equally on every hand slackened its flame. And at that middle with their wings outspread I saw more than a thousand Angels making festival, each distinct both in lustre and in office. I beheld there upon their sports and upon their chants a beauty smile, which was joy in the eyes of all the other saints. And if I

E come quivi, ove s' aspetta il temo
  Che mal guidò Fetonte, più s' infiamma,
  E quinci e quindi il lume si fa scemo;[1]
Così quella pacifica oriafiamma
  Nel mezzo s' avvivava; e d' ogni parte
  Per igual modo allentava la fiamma.
Ed a quel mezzo con le penne sparte 130
  Vidi più di mille Angeli festanti,
  Ciascun distinto e di fulgore e d' arte.
Vidi quivi ai lor giuochi ed ai lor canti
  Ridere una bellezza, che letizia
  Era negli occhi a tutti gli altri santi.

[1] *è fatto scemo* 3 *Ald. W.*

[124] **quivi**: i.e. where the sun is about to rise.

[125] Cf. Purg. iv. 72.

[127] It is clear that we must not, with Philalethes, Bianchi, and others, take **oriafiamma** as applied to the Virgin. She is at the point about which whatever is denoted by the word is seen to be brightest, and this is obviously the whole body of flying angels. The oriflamme, originally the standard of the Vexin (the district about the Seine, from near Paris to below Rouen) was a red banner on a gold spear. After the acquisition of the Vexin by Philip Augustus, it became the battle-ensign of the French kings; whence the special force of the epithet **pacifica** here. The word is no doubt used to recall ll. 13, 14.

had in telling so great wealth as in imagining, I should not dare to attempt the least of her sweetness. Bernard when he saw my eyes fixed and intent on her warm glow, turned his with such affection towards her that he made mine burn more to gaze anew.

E s' io avessi in dir tanta divizia
  Quanto ad immaginar, non ardirei
  Lo minimo tentar di sua delizia.
Bernardo, come vide gli occhi miei
  Nel caldo suo calor fissi ed attenti,[m] 140
  Gli suoi con tanto affetto volse a lei,
Che i miei di rimirar fe più ardenti.

[m] *caler Gg.*

CANTO XXXII.

ARGUMENT.

St. Bernard points out the stations of various saints, and explains generally the manner of their ordering. He also solves a doubt respecting the salvation of infants.

WITH affection set on his Delight that contemplant took on him freely the office of teacher, and began these holy words: "The wound which Mary closed again and anointed, she who at her feet is so fair is the one that opened it and that pierced it. In the rank which the third seats make sits Rachel beneath her with

AFFETTO al suo piacer quel contemplante,[a]
  Libero officio di dottore assunse,
  E cominciò queste parole sante:
La piaga, che Maria richiuse ed unse,
  Quella ch' è tanto bella da suoi piedi,
  È colei che l' aperse e che la punse.
Nell' ordine che fanno i terzi sedi,
  Siede Rachel, di sotto da costei

[a] *L' effetto Gg. Cass.* 124; *L' affetto* 3.

[1] There is another reading, *Refetto*, which would be satisfactory, but has hardly enough authority.

[5] **Quella**: Eve. The commentators quote St. Augustine: Illa percussit, ista sanavit.

[8, 9] Inf. ii. 102. For the symbolical identity of Beatrice and Rachel see Purg. Appendix A.

Beatrice, as thou seest. Sarah, Rebekah, Judith, and her who was great-grandmother to the singer, that through sorrow for his fault said *Miserere mei*, mayest thou see in this wise from throne to throne go in steps downward, as I do who at the fitting name descend over the rose from petal to petal. And from the seventh step downwards, as down to it, succeed Hebrew women, dividing all the leaves of the flower; because according to the direction in which faith gazed at Christ, these are the wall whereof the sacred ladder is partitioned. On this side where the flower is mature in all its petals, are seated those who believed in

Con Beatrice, sì come tu vedi.
Sarra, Rebecca, Judit, e colei 10
Che fu bisava al Cantor che per doglia
Del fallo disse, *Miserere mei*,
Puoi tu veder così di soglia in soglia
Giù digradar, com' io ch' a proprio nome
Vo per la rosa giù di foglia in foglia.
E dal settimo grado in giù, sì come
Insino ad esso, succedono Ebree,[b]
Dirimendo del fior tutte le chiome;
Perchè, secondo lo sguardo che fee
La fede in Cristo, queste sono il muro, 20
A che si parton le sacre scalee.
Da questa parte, onde il fiore è maturo
Di tutte le sue foglie, sono assisi
Quei che credettero in Cristo venturo.

[b] *succedendo Gg.* 14.

[10] **colei**: Ruth. She is probably introduced as the representative of the Gentiles, being only a Hebrew by marriage; while Judith is the type here of the active life.

Christ to come. On the other side, where the semicircles are intersected by void spaces, have their station those who held their faces towards Christ come. And as on this hand the glorious bench of the Lady of heaven and the other benches beneath it make so important a partition; thus opposite does that of the great John, who ever holy endured the desert and the martyrdom, and then hell by the space of two years; and beneath him in this wise have Francis, Benedict, and Augustin drawn the lot to separate, and others down to this point from circle to circle. Now look

Dall' altra parte, onde sono intercisi
  Di voti i semicircoli, si stanno [c]
  Quei ch' a Cristo venuto ebber li visi.
E come quinci il glorioso scanno
  Della Donna del Cielo, e gli altri scanni
  Di sotto lui cotanta cerna fanno, 30
Così di contra quel del gran Giovanni,
  Che sempre santo il diserto e il martiro
  Sofferse, e poi l' inferno da due anni:
E sotto lui così cerner sortiro
  Francesco, Benedetto, e Agostino,
  Ed altri sin quaggiù di giro in giro.

[c] *Devoti Cass.* (but post. *i.e. de vacuo*) 124; *Divoti* 3; *voto Bi; in semic. Gg. Cass.* 1234 *W.*

[26] The reading **in semicircoli** has most authority; but *i* and *in* are practically indistinguishable in MSS., so that it seems best to take the reading which gives the best sense. As Scartazzini points out, if we read *in* it is not easy to see what is the subject to **sono intercisi.**

[31] St. John the Baptist has this place of course in agreement wit Matt. xi. 11.

[33] **l' inferno:** i.e. the *limbus patrum*; from his death until that of Christ.

on the high foresight of God; for the one and the other aspect of the faith shall fill up this garden equally. And know that downward from that rank which strikes the two divisions in mid space, they sit for no merit of their own, but for another's, upon sure conditions: for all these are spirits set free before that they had true power of choice. Well mayest thou be aware thereof through their faces, and also through their childish voices, if thou look aright, and if thou listen to them. Now thou doubtest, and in

Or mira l' alto provveder divino:
  Che l' uno e l' altro aspetto della fede
  Igualmente empierà questo giardino.
E sappi, che dal grado in giù, che fiede 40
  A mezzo il tratto le due discrezioni,[d]
  Per nullo proprio merito si siede,
Ma per l' altrui, con certe condizioni:
  Chè tutti questi sono spirti assolti
  Prima ch' avesser vere elezioni.
Ben te ne puoi accorger per li volti,
  Ed anche per le voci puerili,
  Se tu gli guardi bene e se gli ascolti.

[d] *distinzioni Cass.*

38, 39 No trace of this doctrine, that the number of the elect will be divided equally between the old and the new dispensation, is to be found in S. T., and Philalethes says that he is unable to discover it in the schoolmen elsewhere. Dante's delight in symmetry may have led him to invent it. (I had written this before observing that Scartazzini has come to the same conclusion, and expressed it in almost identical words.)

43 S. T. iii. Q. 34. A. 3: Est autem duplex sanctificatio; una quidem adultorum, qui secundum proprium actum sanctificantur. Alia autem puerorum, qui non sanctificantur secundum proprium actum fidei, sed secundum fidem parentum vel Ecclesiae. Prima autem sanctificatio est perfectior quam secunda, sicut actus est perfectior quam habitus, et quod est per se eo quod est per aliud.—**condizioni**: see l. 76 sqq.

thy doubt art silent; but I will loosen for thee the strong band wherein thy subtile thoughts constrain thee. Within the amplitude of this realm, a point of chance cannot have position any other wise than sorrow, or thirst, or hunger; for by eternal law is so established whatever thou seest, that justly is there correspondence here from the ring to the finger. And therefore this folk, hastened to true life, is not *sine causa* more and less excellent here among itself. The King through whom this realm rests in so great love and in so great delight that no will dares aught beyond, creating

Or dubbi tu, e dubitando sili;
  Ma io ti solverò il forte legame,[e] 50
  In che ti stringon li pensier sottili.
Dentro all' ampiezza di questo reame
  Casual punto non puote aver sito,[f]
  Se non come tristizia o sete o fame:
Chè per eterna legge è stabilito
  Quantunque vedi, sì che giustamente
  Ci si risponde dal' anello al dito.
E però questa festinata gente
  A vera vita non è *sine causa*
  Intra sè qui più e meno eccellente.[g] 60
Lo Rege per cui questo regno pausa
  In tanto amore ed in tanto diletto,
  Che nulla volontà è di più ausa,

[e] *io dissolverò Gg.;* om. *il Cass. Ald.* [f] *Causal Cass.* 1234.
[g] *Entrasi Gg. Cass.* 3 *Ald. W.; intrasi* 124.

49 The doubt is, how among these children there could be different degrees of merit to justify a difference of ranks. St. Bernard's answer is of course based on Romans ix. 11.

53 Cf. xvii. 37, 38.

60 Those who read *Entrasi* put a colon at **causa**; but it seems hard to get any satisfactory sense out of this reading.

all the minds in the joy of His countenance, at His own pleasure endows with grace diversely; and here let the effect suffice. And this expressly and clearly is noted for you in the Holy Scripture in the matter of those twins, who within their mother had their wrath aroused. Therefore, according to the colour of the hair of such grace, the chaplet of the highest light must needs be worthily put on. Not, therefore, with recompense of their conditions have they been placed in different grades, differing only in their primary keenness of sight. Sufficient to them in the new

Le menti tutte nel suo lieto aspetto,
  Creando, a suo piacer, di grazia dota
  Diversamente; e qui basti l' effetto.
E ciò espresso e chiaro vi si nota
  Nella Scrittura santa in quei gemelli,
  Che nella madre ebber l' ira commota.
Però, secondo il color dei capelli 70
  Di cotal grazia, l' altissimo lume
  Degnamente convien che s' incappelli.
Dunque, sanza mercè di lor costume
  Locati son per gradi differenti,
  Sol differendo nel primiero acume.

66 **l' effetto** pretty nearly = "the fact"; as in Purg. vi. 138. (Cf. the Fr. "en effet.") Bianchi compares "state contenti al quia" in Purg. iii. 37.

68 **gemelli**: Jacob and Esau; Gen. xxv. 22.

70 **il color dei capelli**: with allusion to the feature which specially distinguished Jacob and Esau.

73 **costume** is probably intended to represent the *habitus* of the passage of S. T. quoted above. Infants, he would say, cannot have ἕξεις, but may have διαθέσεις. See Ar. Categ. viii. and Bonitz ad Met. δ. 20.

75 I.e. in their original capacity for seeing God.

ages, together with their innocence, in order to have salvation, was the faith of their parents alone. After the first ages were accomplished, it behoved the males to gain through circumcision virtue for their innocent wings. But after that the time of grace was come, without Christ's perfect baptism such innocence was kept below. Look now upon the face that most resembles Christ, for its brightness alone can dispose thee to behold Christ."

I saw upon her such gladness shower, borne in the holy minds create to fly across over that height, that whatever I

Bastavali nei secoli recenti[h]
Con l' innocenza, per aver salute,
Solamente la fede dei parenti.
Poichè le prime etadi fur compiute,
Convenne ai maschi all' innocenti penne,[i] 80
Per circoncidere, acquistar virtute.
Ma poichè il tempo della grazia venne,
Senza battesmo perfetto di CRISTO
Tale innocenza laggiù si ritenne.
Riguarda omai nella faccia, ch' a CRISTO
Più s' assomiglia, chè la sua chiarezza
Sola ti può disporre a veder CRISTO.
Io vidi sovra lei tanta allegrezza
Piover, portata nelle menti sante
Create a trasvolar per quella altezza,[k] 90

[h] *Bastavasi* 3 *Ald.; Bast. sì W. Bi.* [i] *l' innocenti Cass.* 3.
[k] *Creati Cass.; Creata* 124 *W.*

84 Cf. Purg. vii. 31–33. It is curious that St. Bernard, in an extant treatise, appears to have taken a less severe view regarding the future state of infants dying unbaptized. See the notes of Philalethes and Scartazzini.

89 **menti**: the angels, who, as we have seen above, bear the peace and love of God to the blessed spirits.

had seen heretofore held me not suspended with so great wonder, nor showed me such likeness of God. And that love which first descended thereon singing *Ave Maria, gratia plena*, in front of her spread out his wings. To the divine song responded on all sides the blessed court, so that every countenance grew thereby more serene.

"O holy father, who for me endurest the being here below, leaving the sweet place wherein thou sittest by eternal lot, who is that angel who with mirth so great is looking our Queen in the eyes, enamoured so that he appears of fire?" Thus I recurred again to the teaching of him, who was taking in beauty from Mary, as from the sun does the

Che quantunque io avea visto davante,
  Di tanta ammirazion non mi sospese,
  Nè mi mostrò di Dio tanto sembiante.
E quell' amor, che primo lì discese,
  Cantando *Ave Maria, gratia plena*,
  Dinanzi a lei le sue ali distese.
Rispose alla divina cantilena,
  Da tutte parti, la beata Corte,
  Sì ch' ogni vista sen fe più serena.
O santo Padre, che per me comporte 100
  L' esser quaggiù, lasciando il dolce loco
  Nel qual tu siedi per eterna sorte:
Qual' è quell' Angel, che con tanto giuoco
  Quarda negli occhi la nostra Regina,
  Innamorato sì, che par di fuoco?
Così ricorsi ancora alla dottrina
  Di colui, ch' abbelliva di Maria,
  Come del Sol la stella mattutina.

107 Note **abbellire** intransitive.

morning. And he to me: "Hardihood and comeliness, as great as can exist in an angel and in a soul, is all in him, and so would we have it be; for he it is who bore the palm down to Mary, when the Son of God willed to charge Himself with our burden. But come now with thine eyes, as I shall go in my speaking, and mark the great patricians of this empire most righteous and pious. Those two who sit on high there in most bliss, through being nearest to the Empress, are of this rose as it were two roots. He who on the left is placed near her is the Father through whose daring taste humankind tastes so much bitterness. On the right behold that ancient Father of Holy Church,

Ed egli a me: Baldezza e leggiadria,
  Quanta esser puote in Angelo ed in alma, 110
  Tutta è in lui, e sì volem che sia:
Perch' egli è quegli, che portò la palma
  Giuso a Maria, quando il Figliuol di Dio
  Carcar si volse della nostra salma.[1]
Ma vieni omai con gli occhi, sì com' io
  Andrò parlando, e nota i gran patrici
  Di questo imperio giustissimo e pio.
Quei due che seggon lassù più felici,
  Per esser propinquissimi ad Augusta,
  Son d' esta rosa quasi due radici. 120
Colui che da sinistra le s' aggiusta,
  È il Padre, per lo cui ardito gusto,
  L' umana specie tanto amaro gusta.[m]
Dal destro vedi quel Padre vetusto
  Di santa Chiesa, a cui Cristo le chiavi

[1] *Cantar Gg.* [m] *La nostra sp. Gg.*

122 Adam.—ardito gusto: cf. "l' ardimento d' Eva," Purg. xxix. 24. 124 St. Peter.

to whom Christ entrusted the keys of this lovely flower. And he who saw all the grievous times before he died of the fair bride that was won with the spear and with the nails sits alongside of him; and alongside the other rests that leader under whom lived on manna the thankless folk, fickle and backsliding. Over against Peter see Anna sit, so content with looking on her daughter that she moves not an eye for the chanting Hosanna. And over against the eldest Father of a household sits Lucy, who moved thy Lady, when thou wast bending thine eyelids to rush down. But whereas the time that holds thee in slumber is

Raccomandò di questo fior venusto.
E quei che vide tutt' i tempi gravi,
Pria che morisse, della bella sposa
Che s' acquistò con la lancia e coi chiavi,
Siede lungh' esso: e lungo l' altro posa 130
Quel Duca, sotto cui visse di manna
La gente ingrata mobile e ritrosa.
Di contro a Pietro vedi sedere Anna,
Tanto contenta di mirar sua figlia,[n]
Che non muove occhio, per cantare Osanna.
E contro al maggior Padre di famiglia
Siede Lucia, che mosse la tua Donna,
Quando chinavi a ruinar le ciglia.
Ma perchè il tempo fugge, che t' assonna,

[n] *di veder Gg.*

127 St. John the Evangelist.
128, 129 Cf. xxxi. 3.
131 Moses.
138 Inf. i. 61.
139 **assonna.** This is so far as I am aware the only instance in which Dante uses any phrase which would imply that what he has seen is of the nature of a dream.

flying, here will we make a stop, like a good tailor who makes the gown as he has cloth; and we will direct our eyes to the first Love, so that looking toward Him thou mayest penetrate as far as is possible into His splendour. But, lest haply thou fall back in moving thy wings, while deeming that thou goest forward, it is meet that grace be sought in prayer, grace from her who is able to help thee; and do thou follow me with thy affection, so that from my saying thy heart depart not." And he began this holy orison.

Qui farem punto, come buon sartore 140
Che, com' egli ha del panno, fa la gonna:
E drizzeremo gli occhi al primo Amore,
Sì che guardando verso lui, penetri
Quant' è possibil per lo suo fulgore.
Veramente, nè forse tu t' arretri,
Movendo l' ali tue, credendo oltrarti,
Orando grazia convien che s' impetri,
Grazia da quella che puote aiutarti:
E tu mi seguirai con l' affezione,[o]
Sì che dal dicer mio lo cuor non parti.[p] 150
E cominciò questa santa orazione.

[o] *segui con l' aff. Cass.* 1234 *Ald. W.*
[p] *liocchio non p.* 145; *lochio* 2.

CANTO XXXIII.

ARGUMENT.

After St. Bernard has prayed for the aid of the Virgin, Dante gazes fixedly at the Divine light, and beholds therein certain great mysteries. Lastly he attains the end of his vision in the conversion of his will to the will and the love of God.

"VIRGIN MOTHER, daughter of thy Son, humble and exalted more than any creature, end determined of eternal counsel, thou art she who didst so ennoble human nature that He

VERGINE Madre, figlia del tuo Figlio,
Umile ed alta più che creatura,
Termine fisso d' eterno consiglio,
Tu sei colei, che l' umana natura

1 sqq. This address to the Virgin should be compared with Petrarch's beautiful ode, "Vergine bella, che di Sol vestita," by all who wish to understand the difference between the methods of the two poets; and it may perhaps be added, the vast superiority of the elder one in sincerity and dignity; in everything, indeed, save perhaps elegance of versification. Chaucer's rendering of this passage (Second Nun's Tale) is too worthy of the original to be omitted here. After apostrophising the Virgin as

". . . . Thou that art the flower of virgins all
Of whom that Bernard list so well to write,"

the speaker continues:

"Thou maid and mother, daughter of thy Son,
Thou well of mercy, sinful soules cure,

who made it disdained not to be of its making. In thy womb was rekindled the Love, through whose warmth in the eternal peace this flower has thus sprung. Here art thou to us a noonday light of charity, and below among mortals art thou a living fountain of hope. Lady, thou art so great, and of such avail, that whoso wishes for grace and

Nobilitasti sì, che il suo Fattore[a]
Non disdegnò di farsi sua fattura.[b]
Nel ventre tuo si raccese l' amore,
Per lo cui caldo, nell' eterna pace,
Così è germinato questo fiore.
Qui sei a noi meridiana face 10
Di caritade, e giuso intra mortali
Sei di speranza fontana vivace.
Donna, sei tanto grande, e tanto vali,
Che qual vuol grazia, e a te non ricorre,

[a] *tuo Cass.* [b] *tua Gg.*

In whom that God of bounty chose to won;
Thou humble and high over every creature,
Thou nobledest so far forth our nature,
That no-disdain the Maker had of kind
His Son in blood and flesh to clothe and wind.

Within the cloister blissful of thy sides
Took mannes shape the eternal love and peace.
* * * * *
Assembled is in thee magnificence
With mercy, goodness, and with such pity,
That thou, that art the sun of excellence,
Not only helpest them that prayen thee,
But oftentime of thy benignity
Full freely, or that men thine help beseech,
Thou goest before, and art their lives leech."

(I have modernised the spelling wherever the metre allows.)

has not recourse to thee, his desire would fain fly without wings. Thy loving-kindness not only succours whoso asks, but oftentimes freely prevents the asking. In thee mercy, in thee pity, in thee mighty deeds, in thee is united all of goodness that is in a creature. Now then this man, who from the deepest hollow of the universe up to this point has seen the lives of spirits one by one, supplicates thee for a gift of virtue so far that he may with his eyes raise himself higher towards the final salvation. And I who never for my own vision burned more than I do for his, offer to thee all my prayers, and pray that they fall not short, that thou wouldest unloose every cloud from his mortality with

Sua disianza vuol volar senz' ali.
La tua benignità non pur soccorre
A chi dimanda, ma molte fiate
Liberamente al dimandar precorre.
In te misericordia, in te pietate,
In te magnificenza, in te s' aduna 20
Quantunque in creatura è di bontate.
Or questi, che dall' infima lacuna
Dell' universo insin qui ha vedute
Le vite spiritali ad una ad una,
Supplica a te, per grazia di virtute,
Tanto che possa con gli occhi levarsi
Più alto, verso l' ultima salute.
Ed io, che mai per mio veder non arsi[c]
Più ch' io fo per lo suo, tutti i miei prieghi
Ti porgo, e prego che non sieno scarsi: 30
Perchè tu ogni nube gli disleghi

[c] *voler* (alt. to *voder*) *Gg.*

27 **l' ultima salute**: cf. xxii. 124.
29 **fo**: see note to Purg. xxvi. 70.

thy prayers, so that the highest bliss may be unfolded to him. Further I pray thee, Queen, for thou canst what thou wilt, that thou wouldst preserve blameless his affections, after so great a sight. Let thy protection quell human stirrings. Behold Beatrice, and all the saints with whom she folds her hands to thee for my prayers."

The eyes beloved and reverenced of God fixed on him who prayed, showed us how pleasing to her are devout prayers. Then to the eternal light were they directed, into the which one may not deem that by a creature the eye is made to penetrate so clear. And I who to the end of my desires was drawing nigh, as I was bound ended in

Di sua mortalità, coi prieghi tuoi,
Sì che il sommo piacer gli si dispieghi.
Ancor ti prego, Regina, che puoi
Ciò che tu vuoli, che conservi sani,
Dopo tanto veder, gli affetti suoi.
Vinca tua guardia i muovimenti umani;
Vedi Beatrice con quanti beati
Per li miei prieghi ti chiudon le mani.
Gli occhi da Dio diletti e venerati, 40
Fissi nell' orator ne dimostraro,
Quanto i devoti prieghi le son grati.
Indi all' eterno lume si drizzaro,
Nel qual non si può creder che s' invii
Per creatura l' occhio tanto chiaro.
Ed io ch' al fine di tutti i disii
M' appropinquava, sì com' io dovea,[d]

[d] *deceva Gg.*

46-48 Cf. i. 7. Here, and again in l. 57, he would seem to be purposely using expressions intended to recall the opening passage of this part of the poem.

myself the ardour of my longing. Bernard made a sign to me, and smiled, so that I should gaze upward; but I was already of myself such as he wished. For my view, becoming undimmed, more and more was entering through the beam of the light on high, which of itself is true. From henceforward my sight was greater than my speech, which at such a view gives way, and my memory gives way at so great excess. As is he who sees in a dream, in that after the dream the feeling impressed remains, and the rest does not return to the mind, such am I, for my vision departs as it were wholly; and still trickles into my heart

L' ardor del desiderio in me finii.
Bernardo m' accennava, e sorridea,
Perch' io guardassi in suso: ma io era 50
Già per me stesso tal qual ei volea:
Chè la mia vista venendo sincera,[e]
E più e più entrava per lo raggio
Dell' alta luce, che da sè è vera.
Da quinci innanzi il mio veder fu maggio
Che il parlar nostro, ch' a tal vista cede,
E cede la memoria a tanto oltraggio.
Quale è colui, che sonniando vede,
Che dopo il sogno la passione impressa[f]
Rimane, e l' altro alla mente non riede, 60
Cotal son io, che quasi tutta cessa
Mia visione, ed ancor mi distilla

[e] *si intera Gg.* [f] *E dopo Gg. Bi.*

57 **oltraggio** here of course has its original meaning.

59 **la passione impressa.** Perhaps suggested by a phrase in Ar. de Somniis, 2: *μεταφερόντων γὰρ τὴν αἴσθησιν ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ πάθος.* I cannot however find in that treatise any notice of the well-known phenomenon here alluded to.

the sweetness that was born of it. Thus the snow loses in the sun its stamp, thus in the wind on the light leaves was lost the sentence of the Sibyl. O highest light, that raisest thyself so far from mortal conceptions, lend again to my mind a little of what thou didst appear; and make my tongue so potent, that it may leave one spark only of thy glory to the folk to come; for by returning somewhat to my memory, and by sounding a little in these verses, more will men conceive of thy victory. I believe that through the keenness of the living ray which I supported, I should have been bewildered if my eyes had been turned away

Nel cuor il dolce che nacque da essa.[g]
Così la neve al sol si disigilla;
Così al vento nelle foglie lievi
Si perdea la sentenza di Sibilla.
O somma luce, che tanto ti lievi
Dai concetti mortali, alla mia mente
Ripresta un poco di quel che parevi:
E fa la lingua mia tanto possente, 70
Ch' una favilla sol della tua gloria
Possa lasciare alla futura gente:
Chè per tornare alquanto a mia memoria,
E per sonare un poco in questi versi,
Più si conceperà di tua vittoria.
Io credo, per l' acume ch' io soffersi
Del vivo raggio, ch' io sarei smarrito,
Se gli occhi miei da lui fossero aversi.

[g] *che venne da essa Gg.*

65, 66 Aen. iii. 444 sqq.

76-78 Cf. Ar. de Somn. immediately after the words quoted to l. 59: *οἷον ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου εἰς τὸ σκότος· συμβαίνει γὰρ μηδὲν ὁρᾶν διὰ τὴν ἔτι ὑποῦσαν κίνησιν ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν ὑπὸ τοῦ φωτός.*

from it. And it comes to my mind that I was the bolder for this reason to endure, so much that I mingled my looks with the Goodness that has no end. O abounding grace, whereby I took upon me to fix my gaze amid the eternal light, so far that there I consumed my vision! Into its depth I beheld how there enters, bound with love into one volume, that which is distributed through the universe; substance and accident and their fashion, as though fused together in such wise that that which I tell of is one single light. The universal form of this knot I believe that I saw,

E mi ricorda ch' io fui più ardito
  Per questo a sostener tanto, ch' io giunsi 80
  L' aspetto mio col valore infinito.[h]
O abbondante grazia, ond' io presunsi
  Ficcar lo viso per la luce eterna,
  Tanto che la veduta vi consunsi!
Nel suo profondo vidi che s' interna,
  Legato con amore in un volume,
  Ciò che per l' universo si squaderna;
Sustanza ed accidente, e lor costume,
  Quasi conflati insieme per tal modo,
  Che ciò ch' io dico è un semplice lume. 90
La forma universal di questo nodo
  Credo ch' io vidi, perchè più di largo,

[h] *col voler Gg.* [i] *Tutti Ald. Bi.*

85 sqq. He first has an intuition of metaphysical, then (116 sqq.) of theological truths.

87 **si squaderna:** lit. "is in loose sheets." See note to xvii. 37.

91.96 He means to say that in one moment he forgot the mysteries that he had seen; and his only evidence of having seen them is the joy that he feels in recording that he did so.—**La forma universal:** cf. i. 99, 100.—**nodo:** the composition of the created universe.

because in saying this I feel that I rejoice more at large. One moment only is to me greater oblivion than five-and-twenty centuries to the enterprise which made Neptune marvel at the shadow of Argo.

Thus my mind all in suspense was gazing fixedly immovable and intent, and ever with gazing grew inflamed. Before that light one becomes such that to turn from it for other spectacle it is impossible that one should ever consent; because the good which of the will is object, is all assembled in it, and outside of it that is defective which there is perfect. Henceforth my word shall be

Dicendo questo, mi sento ch' io godo.
Un punto solo m' è maggior letargo,
Che venticinque secoli alla impresa,
Che fe Nettuno ammirar l' ombra d' Argo.
Così la mente mia tutta sospesa,
Mirava fissa immobile ed attenta,
E sempre di mirar faceasi accesa.[k]
A quella luce cotal si diventa, 100
Che volgersi da lei per altro aspetto
È impossibil che mai si consenta:
Però chè il ben, ch' è del volere obbietto,
Tutto s' accoglie in lei; e fuor di quella
È difettivo ciò ch' è lì perfetto.
Omai sarà più corta mia favella,

[k] *Sempre derimirar Cass.; E tutta nel m. Ald.; E sempre del m. W.; nel m. Bi.*

100-102 S. T. ii. 1. Q. 5. A. 4: est impossibile quod aliquis videns divinam essentiam, velit eam non videre.

105 S. T. ib. infra: beatitudo est perfectio consummata, quae omnem defectum excludit a beato.

106-108 The simile is probably suggested by 1 Pet. ii. 2, 3.

shorter, even in regard to that which I call to mind, than of a babe who yet steeps his tongue at the breast. Not as though more than a single semblance had been in the living light whereon I was gazing, for such is it ever as it was before; but by reason of my sight which was gaining strength in me as I looked, one sole appearance, as I changed, was winnowed out to me in the profound and bright substance of the light on high, and appeared to me three circles of three colours and one capacity; and the

Pure a quel ch' io ricordo, che d' un fante,
Che bagni ancor la lingua alla mammella;
Non perchè più ch' un semplice sembiante[1]
Fosse nel vivo lume ch' io mirava, 110
Chè tal' è sempre qual era davante;
Ma per la vista che s' avvalorava
In me, guardando, una sola parvenza,
Mutandom' io, a me si travagliava[m]
Nella profonda e chiara sussistenza
Dell' alto lume, e parvemi tre giri
Di tre colori e d' una contenenza:

[1] *più un s. Gg.; più con s.* 3.
[m] *Inmirando Gg.; Imitando* 145; *Mutandomi ame* 2.

109-120 In these lines is indicated the mystery of the Trinity; and in ll. 127–132 that of the Incarnation.

114-116 I have ventured to alter the usual punctuation of the first of these lines, by omitting the colon after **travagliava**, and to introduce **e** after **lume** in the last. Without this it is not easy to get a good sense from ll. 109–117. The first two tercets explain why what was really one appeared to him threefold in the manner described in the third, so that the sense must run *Non perchè . . . . ma per la vista*, etc. . . . *una parvenza . . . parvemi.* This will enable us to take **travagliava** in the only satisfactory sense that has been suggested. See Glossary.—**Mutandom' io**: cf. Purg. xxxi. 121 sqq.

one seemed reflected by the second, as rainbow by rainbow, and the third seemed fire, which from the one and the other is breathed forth in equal measure. Oh, how short is speech, and how indistinct beside my conception! And this beside what I saw is such that to call it little is not enough. O Light eternal, that sole in Thyself residest, sole comprehendest Thyself, and by Thyself understood and comprehending, lovest and smilest on Thyself! That circle which appeared so conceived in Thee as a reflected light, when somewhat contemplated by my eyes, within itself, of its own very hue, seemed to me pictured with our image, wherefore my sight was wholly set on it. As is the geometer who applies himself wholly in order to measure

E l' un dall' altro, come Iri da Iri,
  Parea reflesso, e il terzo parea fuoco,
  Che quinci e quindi igualmente si spiri. 120
O quanto è corto il dire, e come fioco
  Al mio concetto! e questo a quel ch' io vidi
  È tanto, che non basta a dicer poco.
O luce eterna, che sola in te sidi,
  Sola t' intendi, e da te intelletta
  Ed intendente te ami ed arridi:
Quella circulazion, che sì concetta
  Pareva in te, come lume riflesso,[n]
  Dagli occhi miei alquanto circonspetta,
Dentro da sè del suo colore stesso 130
  Mi parve pinta della nostra effige:
  Perchè il mio viso in lei tutto era messo.
Qual' è il geometra, che tutto s' affige

[n] *Pareva in tre Gg. W.*

119 **fuoco**: the symbol of love, carrying us back to x. 1, 2.
131 **nostra effige**: i.e. human form.

the circle, and finds not by thinking that principle whereof he is in want, such was I before this new vision. I would see how the image was fitted to the circle, and how it has place therein; but my own wings were not for this; only that my mind was smitten through with a flash, wherein its wish came. To my lofty fantasy here power failed; but already was swaying my desire and my will, as a wheel which is evenly moved, the Love which moves the sun and all the stars.

Per misurar la cerchio, e non ritrova,
Pensando, quel principio ond' egli indige,
Tale era io e quella vista nuova:
Veder voleva come si convenne
L' imago al cerchio, e come vi s' indova:
Ma non eran da ciò le proprie penne;
Se non che la mia mente fu percossa 140
Da un fulgore, in che sua voglia venne.
All' alta fantasia qui mancò possa:
Ma già volgeva il mio disiro, e il *velle*,
Sì come ruota che igualmente e mossa,
L' amor che muove il Sole e l' altre stelle.

143 The final blessedness is reached with the entire surrender of the will to the love of God. Cf. iii. 79–81.

GLOSSARY.

Acconciare, xxxi. 98, and **racconciare,** Purg. vi. 88, "to fit up," "trim." Sp. *aconchar.* From *ad-comptiare*; this from *comptus*, part. of *comere*, "to comb." See Gloss. Purg. *conto.* [It is very doubtful whether Eng. *comb*, G. *kamm*, has anything to do with Lat. *comere*, which seems originally to mean "to put together."]

Addobbare, xiv. 96, "to fit out," "adorn." Sp. *adobar*, Fr. *adouber* (now almost obsolete, save as (1) "to touch a piece," at chess; (2) a marine term, "to refit"). The word is said to be the same as *dub*, which again is akin to *dab* and *tap*, all in the sense of "to touch quickly and lightly." According to this view, the original meaning would be that of making a knight, and thence of equipping or fitting out. An objection is that in the earliest examples given by Littré, from the eleventh century, the meaning is clearly "to make ready," the "dubbing" of a knight not appearing till the next century; while in Italian this sense does not seem to occur at all. Skeat (s. v. *dapper*) mentions a Goth. *gadobs*, "fitting," akin to Germ. *tapfer* and Slav. *dobru*, "good," which seems to offer a better derivation.

Agrume, xvii. 117, "a harsh taste." From *agro*, Lat. *acer*, with suffix *-ume*, corresponding to Lat. *-umen*, but applied to many roots with which it is not found in Latin.

Assettare, i. 121, "to order." (Inf. xvii. 91, and Conv. i. 1, *assettarsi* = "to seat oneself.") Probably from Fr. *assiette*; this from an old *siet* = Lat. *situs.* No doubt the sense has been modified by Goth. *satjan*, Germ. *setzen*, "to *set*."

Avvantaggio, xxvi. 31, "*advantage*," "pre-eminence"; and vb. **avvantaggiarsi,** vii. 76. Fr. *avantage*, Sp. *ventaja.* From *avanti*, "in front": this from *ab ante.* The forms *vantaggio*, *vantage* (Fr. and Eng.) are also found; I suspect modified by *vantare*, *vanter*, *vaunt*, from *vanitare*; this from *vanus.*

Baccelliere, xxiv. 46, "a bachelor." From Fr. *bachelier*, Sp. *bachiller*. The origin of the word is obscure. Its primary sense seems to have been "a yeoman"; *baccalaria* being an estate which gave its holder a rank below that of a vassal. Thence it became a term of chivalry, importing one who, though higher in rank than a squire, was not yet a knight; and subsequently it passed into the universities and denoted, as at the present day, the student who had taken his first degree, but was not yet qualified to become a Master in Arts, or a Doctor in one of the three learned faculties. Littré is inclined to connect the word with *vassus*, *vassal* (from Celtic *gwaz*), on the analogy of *bachelette*, also written *baisselette*, which is almost certainly from this root. He also suggests the Gael. *bachall*, "a staff" (cognate with *baculus*); but, as Diez says, it is hard to see the connexion. Skeat prefers *bacca*, a low Lat. form of *vacca*; the original *baccalarius* then being one who kept a *baccale*, or herd of cows. This is satisfactory, if historically verifiable. Of course the form *baccalaureus* with its fanciful derivation from *bacca lauri* must be quite rejected, as also any connexion with Celt. *bach*, "small." The word undoubtedly comes in the first instance from France, and is not indigenous in Italy either in this, or the other form *bacalare*.

Balascio, ix. 69, "a fine ruby." Fr. *balais*, Sp. *balax*. From low Lat. *balascius*. Said to be from the Ar. *balchash*, and this from the khanate of Balakshan or Badakshan in Central Asia, whence these stones were brought. But is not the order of derivation reversed here? One is much tempted to think that the original root is the same as that of the Gr. βαλαύστιον, "a pomegranate flower." The fruit, as we know, has given its name to another precious stone.

Barba, xix. 137, "an uncle." Originally merely "an elder," "one with a beard." *Barbas* and *barbanus* are found in low Latin, while in the Vaudois dialect *barbe* signifies "an elder of the church."

Bieco, v. 65, vi. 136, "dim-sighted," "malicious." From Lat. *obliquus*, as "piego" from *plico*, says Diez; but does long *i* ever become *e*? Littré takes it to be the same as Fr. *bigle* from *bis-oculus* (see Gloss. Purg. s. v. **abbagliare**). But he gives no instance of this earlier than the sixteenth century, so that the Italian word can hardly be formed from it. There is an Icel. *blekkja*, "to defraud, delude," which appears to be cognate with *blench*, the causal of *blink*; so that its original meaning must be to blind or dazzle the eyes. This idea in *blench* is well seen in Shakespeare, Sonnet cx.: "Most true it is that I have looked on truth Askance and strangely; but, by all above, These blenches gave my heart another youth." It also has the meaning "to shrink away." Hence may come the idea of crooked dealing.

Bifolco, ii. 18, "a ploughman." Almost certainly from *bubulcus* (*u* unaccented into *i*, as *juniperus*, *ginepro*; *b* into *f*, as *scarabaeus*, *scarafaggio*); and so strictly "an oxherd." [It is a little curious that in the passage of Ovid which is here alluded to, Met. vii. there occurs the line "Pulvereumque solum pede pulsavere bisulco" (l. 113). Can Dante have read "bifulco," understanding "they stamped at their driver"?]

Bigoncia, ix. 55, "a vat," "bucket." Properly a vessel holding two *congii*, or rather over two gallons. It was used for carrying the grapes when pressed, hence the word is appropriately used here.

Bozzacchione, xxvii. 126, "a degenerated plum." Strictly, a plum that has swelled up in consequence of the attack of an insect. From *bozza*, "a tumour." Fr. *bosse*, Sp. *bochin*, "a wart," Eng. *botch* and *boss*, O. H. G. *bôzo*, "a bunch"; *bôzen*, "to beat," "bump," "*butt*." The first idea seems that of beating, and the swelling is the result.

Bozzo, xix. 138, "dishonoured," lit. "cuckold." The derivation is uncertain; but *becco*, "a he-goat," is used in the same sense, so that very probably *bozzo* also means originally "a goat," and is cognate with *butt*. See the last word.

Brogliare, xxvi. 97, "to struggle," "move quickly." Fr. *brouiller*, "to stir up"; Eng. *broil*; Pr. *bruelhar*, "to spring up" (as a plant or a fountain). Germ. *brodeln*, "to bubble," has been suggested (cf. Fr. *bouger* from *bulicare*); but the best opinion seems to be that it is cognate with *brolo*, q. v. in Gloss. Purg. "The notion seems to be that, from a substantive meaning a park or grove, also a thicket, or overgrowth of bushes, was formed a verb signifying to be confused or entangled."—Skeat. It may be added that from the idea of entanglement, that of struggling to get free easily follows.

Brusco, xvii. 126, "harsh," "rough." Fr. *brusque*; Sp. *brusco*. Dict. Crusc. gives the word as primarily applied to wine; in which case the suggested derivation from *labrusca*, "the wild vine," would seem very probable. There is however a Spanish *brusco*, O. Fr. *brusc*, from Lat. *ruscus*, "butcher's broom," with "prosthetic" *b*; which, if we are to be content with a botanical derivation, appears yet more satisfactory. May not *ruscus* itself, however, be an adjective originally, containing the same base as *rudis*? In that case we have only to suppose a form *perruscus*.

Bugio, xx. 27, "hollow." Probably from the same root as *bugia*, "a lie," and Germ. *böse*, which in this case will mean primarily "empty."

Carola, xxiv. 16, xxv. 99, "a choir." See Gloss. Purg. s. v. *caribo*. Diez however prefers to derive it from *choraula*. Whatever

may have been the real origin, it seems highly probable that Dante thought he was using an equivalent of *chorale*.

Coppa, viii. 12, "the back of the head." Properly "cup." Fr. *coupe*, Sp. *copa*, from Lat. *cupa*. Hence, from its shape "the skull." Diez compares "tête" from *testa*. Germ. *kopf* is probably from the same.

Corredare, vi. 112, "to fit out." From a Teutonic root, found in Icel. *reiði*, "tackle," "implements," *reiðr*, "ready"; Goth. *raidjan*, "to order," Germ. *bereit*. The French form is *corroyer*, Eng. *curry*, "to prepare leather." From the same root we have Fr. *arroi*, Eng. *array*. (The Germ. *geräth*, from which it has been derived, is more likely derived from it; cf. *gemein* from *communis*; *ungestüm*, from *incostumato*.)

Cotenna, xix. 120, "a boar." Properly "a boar's hide," Fr. *couenne*. From *cutanea*, and this from *cutis*.

Dio, xiv. 34, xxiii. 107, xxvi. 10, "bright," "clear." From Lat. *dius*, found only in the expression *sub dio*, sc. caelo. Root the same as in *Deus*, *dies*, etc.

Donneare, xxiv. 118, xxvii. 88. "Italis *Donneare* quasi *Donneggiare*, *cortegiar e servire donne*; cum *Domnis* seu *Domicellis* versari. Grammatica provincialis: *Doneiare*, cum dominabus loqui de amore."—Du Cange, s. v. *Domneare*.

Doppiero, xxviii. 4, "a candle." From Lat. *duplerius*; this from *duplus*, on account of the *two* strands in the wick. [So *twist*, *twine*, originally from *two*; and Germ. *zwirn*, "thread." The converse is found in Germ. *wickeln*, "to fold," from *wickel*, "a bundle of flax," this being cognate with our "wick."]

Elsa, xvi. 102, "the *hilt* of a sword." From O. G. *helza*, Icel. *hjalt* ("the pommel," also "the guard"). Not connected with *hold*.

Ferza, xviii. 42, "a whip." Commonly taken from *feritiare*, freq. of *ferire*, "to strike." Diez however says this is impossible, "because the fourth conjugation gives no participial verbs," and suggests that it is for *felza*, from O. G. *fillazan*, freq. of *fillan*, "to scourge."

Fioco, xi. 133, xxxiii. 121, "indistinct" (of the voice). In Inf. iii. 75 it is used of light, which disposes of the suggestion that its primary meaning is "hoarse," and that it is in any way connected with *raucus*. I am inclined to think that it is cognate with Fr. *flou*, "soft," "weak." (Cf. *fuoco* and *feu*, anciently *fou*.) This is said to be from

Low Dutch *flauw*, in the same sense. That *w* in this word represents an original guttural is shown by the kindred Goth. *thlagvus*, Lat. *flacc-idus*.

Gronda, xxx. 88, "the eaves of a house." From Lat. *grunda*, found in comp. *subgrunda*, Fr. *sévéronde* (not given by Littré). Goth. *grundus* = Eng. *ground*, and is found in comp. *grundu-waddjus*, "a foundation."—(Skeat.)

Latino, iii. 63, "intelligible, "clear." From the original meaning of "Latin," the word seems to have been transferred to any language natural to the speaker (as in xii. 144), even Arabic, says Diez, and the song of birds (as in a ballad of doubtful authenticity, Fraticelli, Canzoniere di D. p. 223: E cantinne gli augelli Ciascun in suo latino). For examples of a similar use in O. Fr. see Littré. Finally *latinier*, Eng. *latiner*, corrupted to *latimer*, came to mean one who could speak to every man "in the tongue wherein he was born," and so an interpreter. From this the meaning of "intelligible" is easily deduced. Cf. *deutsch* and *deuten*.

Lega, ii. 139, xxiv. 84, "*alloy*." Fr. *aloi*, Sp. *ley*. From *ad legem*; the proportion of baser metal allowed by law in the coinage.

Mancia, v. 66, "an offering." Originally a present to a servant, Germ. "trinkgeld"; also "smart-money." Diez derives it from *manus* through *manicia*, low Lat. for *manicae*, "gloves" or "sleeves," such things being often given for those purposes. [It. *paraguanto*, Sp. *guantes*, Pg. *luvas*, are all used in the same sense.]

Noce, ii. 24, "the part of the cross-bow which holds the string when it is drawn back." Generally taken as the same with *noce*, "a nut," Lat. *nucem*. I cannot however help supposing that it is cognate with Eng. *notch*, O. Dutch *nock*; possibly confused with low Lat. *nouchia*, "a buckle," O. Fr. *nouche*, Eng. *nouch* or *ouch*.

Paleo, xviii. 42, "a whipping-top." Probably for *baleo* (as *palla* for *balla*), and connected with Fr. *balayer*. This appears to have had anciently (*baloier*) the meaning of "to float about," as a banner in the wind; a notion which might perhaps be transferred to the movements of a top. In this sense Diez suggests a connexion with *ballare*, "to dance" (Sp. *bailar*, originally *balear*). There is, however, a Prov.

balaiar, "to flap," "whip," which seems more to the purpose. Fr. *balai*, "a broom," means also provincially the plant "broom," and is derived from a Celtic word *balan* (the plant), whence *balaen*, the implement. This, again, is from *bala*, "a shoot" (Lat. "flagellum"), from which all the meanings, "to whip," "to flap," "to sweep," come easily.

Pareggio, xxiii. 67, "a roadstead." Strictly "a coast," Fr. *parage*. A low Lat. *paregium* is found, apparently formed from Fr. *paroi*, from *paries*; hence the wall of the land. From the coast to the sea off the coast is not a very violent transition.

Pareglio, xxvi. 106, "a *pair*," "match." Fr. *pareil*, Sp. *parejo*. From *pariculum*; and so a doublet of *parecchio*, as "veglio" of *vecchio*, "speglio" of *specchio*.

Paroffia, xxviii. 84. We must apparently, in spite of the very unusual change of consonant, accept the statement of the old commentators, e.g. Buti and Landino, that this curious word stands for *parrocchia*, "a *parish*." In what sense Dante used it remains uncertain. Boccaccio evidently took it as = "retinue," "company"; for in the Teseide he speaks of a person entering "con tutta paroffia." Against this is the objection that *ogni* can seldom be rendered "whole," and it will be observed that B. has used *tutta*, which of course is the proper word. If we take *ogni* in its usual sense of "every," *paroffia* will mean "region," "district"; and this is perhaps best. Dante may be comparing the heaven to a city composed, like Florence, of many parishes. *Parrocchia* is from Gr. παροικία, "a neighbourhood," through the Latin *paroecia* (cf. *dioecesis*); but it has no doubt been modified by the sense of *parochus*, "a purveyor" ("parochi in ecclesia dicuntur qui . . . fidelibus necessaria ad salutem suppeditant."—Forcell.), and *parochia* is found in Latin as early as *paroecia*. It is not impossible that Dante intended to convey some meaning like the *dispense* of Purg. xxvii. 72.

Postilla, iii. 13, "a short note," used for the outline of a face as seen by reflection. Fr. *apostille*, Sp. *postila*. From *post illa*, sc. *verba*; because in a running comment the notes would follow the words. Another possible explanation is that the notes *reflect* the sense, and so the word may be used in the sense merely of "reflected image."

Quadrello, ii. 23, "a *quarrel*," "bolt for a cross-bow." Fr. *carreau*, Sp. *quadrillo*. From *quadro*, this from *quadrum*, "a square," from its square head.

Riparo, xxii. 150, "a habitation." Fr. *repaire*, Eng. (vb.) *repair*. From *repatriare*; lit. "a place to which one goes home." If this be correct, the Italian word must have come from the French. (It is quite a distinct word from the *riparo* of Purg. viii. 97; Fr. *rempart*, Eng. *rampart*. This is from Lat. *parare*, "to make ready," hence "guard"; Fr. *parer*, "to adorn," "to parry.")

Roffia, xxviii. 82, "cloud," "mist." Diez connects it with G. *rufe*, Icel. *hrufa*, "a scab," "scurf"; and more remotely with *arruffare*, G. *raufen*, "to pull" (of the hair). But is it not rather O. G. *rouh*, mod. *rauch*, "smoke"? The change would be similar to that which the *gh* in our *rough*, *cough*, has undergone.

Rogna, xvii. 129, "an itch." Fr. *rogne*, Sp. *roña*. From Lat. *robiginem*, "rust." The contraction, as Diez remarks, is rather violent; but there seems some reason to suppose that *robigo* had early acquired a somewhat similar sense.

Salma, xxxii. 114, "a burden." See Gloss. Purg. s. v. *soma*.

Sampogna, xx. 24, "a pipe," "shawm." Sp. *zampoña*. From *symphonia*, Gr. *συμφωνία*. The word seems to have been applied to a musical instrument very early. It occurs in the list of instruments, Daniel iii. 7, both in the Septuagint and in the Vulgate, where our translators render it by "dulcimer," but, as this line shows, it was a wind instrument. Prudentius uses the word for a trumpet.

Sceda, xxix. 115, "raillery," "mockery." From Lat. *scida*, which is for *scheda*, "a slip of paper" (whence our *schedule*), from Gr. *σχίδη*, "a slip of wood." Hence it seems to have got the meaning of "a parody," "caricature" (Buti). [This does not appear very satisfactory, for want of any historical evidence; but we may compare the history of "libel."]

Scranna, xix. 81, "a judgement-seat." From Germ. *schranne*, "a grating," Eng. *screen*. No doubt on account of the railing which fenced the judgement-seat; so "chancery" from *cancelli*.

Susina, xxvii. 126, "a plum." From *Susa*, as our "damson" (for "damascene") from *Damascus*.

Tranare, x. 121, "to draw." For *trainare*, Fr. *traîner*. From low Lat. *trahinare*, formed from *trahere*.

Travagliare, xxxiii. 114. I feel very little doubt that in this place we must derive the word from *vaglio*, "a sieve," Lat. *vannulus*, dim. of *vannus*. [For its ordinary meaning see Gloss. Purg. where the last paragraph is almost certainly wrong.]

Troppo, *passim,* "much," "too much." Fr. *trop.* From low Lat. *truppus,* "a troop," "herd." This seems to have been a German corruption of *turba.* (Observe that the original gender reappears in *truppa, troupe, tropa.*) [For the change of meaning cf. Germ. *häufig,* "frequent," from *haufe,* "heap."]

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